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Supplementary Demands has not been reduced with reference to these savings, as no reappropriation is permissible from one Grant to another or between 'Charged' and 'Voted' items.

"Further, most of the increased expenditure has been allowed for in the Revised Estimate for 1952-53 already presented to the Legislature.

"The widespread prevalence of drought in the State has necessitated the opening of a large number of minor irrigation works and starting of gruel centres in many places and grant of subsistence loans to poorer ryots resulting in large supplementary appropriation. The expenditure on the Community Development Projects which are under implementation in the six areas of this State since October last has also been included in the Supplementary Estimates.

"Turning to the Capital side, the bulk of the additional expenditure represents the value of large stocks of chemical fertilizers and foodgrains purchased in the current year and likely to be cleared only in the next year and is thus not really an outright extra expenditure.

"Explanations for the Supplementary Estimates under each Grant are given in the Detailed Supplementary Estimates.

"With these words, I commend the Supplementary Estimates for the acceptance of the House."

IV.—GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR
1953-54—cont.

MR. SPEAKER :—"The House will now take up the General Discussion on the Budget."

* THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, 9-30 a.m.
I should like to say a few words on the points raised by hon. Members when discussing the Budget items relating to the Departments of Transport, Labour and Industries. I must say at the outset that I have received a lot of useful suggestions and criticisms from Members; but they have on some occasions been a little harsh; and I shall try to explain to them that the harshness is not warranted by facts.

"Sir, so far as Transport is concerned, there has been a suggestion that we should be more liberal in the issue of permits for new routes. Sir, during the discussions on the Stage Carriages Surcharge Bill, there was a suggestion made that in view of the dwindling profits and in view of the fact that we have introduced more buses on the routes, the existing profits, if at all there were any, would still further dwindle, and so new routes should not be opened, at any rate that no new buses must be put on the existing routes where sufficient number of buses were available. And I think I then gave this House an assurance that as far as possible that suggestion would be respected. While I must say that it does not entirely lie within my power to give a direction to quasi-judicial

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bodies like the Regional Transport Authorities and the Central Road Traffic Board, as I said, I shall try my best to see that unnecessary competition is not introduced.

“ With regard to the Motor Vehicles (Taxation of Passengers and Goods) Act, I must say that the response and the co-operation have been very good. While Members had complained that it would work as a hardship, I know bus operators under great handicaps have come forward to help this Government. Out of a total demand of Rs. 7 lakhs made for the month of February, I am glad to announce that we have received Rs. 5 lakhs and odd by way of compounding fees. That is so much to the credit of those who want to co-operate with the Government. There has also been a representation made that we must not charge spare buses and that we should permit monthly collection of the compounding fee. So far as the spare buses are concerned, we have agreed to the request; but monthly compounding is a matter which is beyond my power. I am therefore coming back to the Legislature with an amendment, so that this House may permit me to help the bus operators by agreeing to monthly collections. Though this will entail some more staff, I must say it will be a great help to the bus operators. I hope that when the proper time comes, I shall be able to present a statement on this matter and explain it in greater detail.

“ On the question of labour, I must say that last year has been a year of more or less cordiality between employer and employee except in a few cases here and there. I cannot grudge even that difference of opinion; for, as long as human nature is what it is, there is bound to be difference of opinion between two human beings, and therefore there are such differences, and I am bound to say that barring a few cases, the general atmosphere has been one of peace and cordiality. The Government's view has been the view put forward by the Hon. Mr. V. V. Giri, the Union Labour Minister, viz., that as far as possible, we should rely on voluntary conciliation rather than on compulsory adjudication. For, the result brought about by voluntary conciliation is more friendly, is more lasting and is a better management-labour relationship than the result brought about by adjudication. Sir, up till now, more labour officers have been engaged in trying to see a sort of superficial conciliation is done, so that if they do not succeed, the matter can be referred for adjudication. But at the same time I should like to say that adjudication has not been very popular with the workers themselves or with the managements. It has often been brought to my notice that the awards of the Tribunal are not satisfactory. As Members are aware, we have no power to alter the award, and so far as this State is concerned, we have practically accepted *in toto* the recommendations of the Tribunals. I have only one observation to make. My good friend Mr. Kalyanasundaram, while paying me a compliment on the way I have received a deputation, complained that there has been inordinate delay. My friend has always been a partisan in a dispute and he has never been a conciliator, whereas I have always been a conciliator and

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never a partisan. Therefore, my friend cannot know the very difficult and delicate nature of the negotiations which will bring about a conciliation. I have attempted in this short period to bring about conciliation between managements and labour; I have succeeded in a few but I have failed in more cases. But it gives a great pleasure to find out after a couple of hours of hard work that you are able to bring together the differing view-points. The case which my hon. Friend referred to was one such. It can surely be referred to a Tribunal, but what will be the delay? It will take nine months or even twelve months, and then the management will appeal to the Tribunal or Labour will appeal, and it will take probably two years and my friend has got to wait for those two long years before getting something. My method is one of conciliation. We try, of course, and we do fail in some cases; but we shall not be sorry; I think we shall not fail if we make an honest attempt at conciliation. I therefore crave my hon. Friend to just bear with me in this very delicate and difficult task of trying to bring two differing view-points together. Sir, this Government also agreed to the suggestion put forward that we should have the Works Committee and the Standing Order. When I was answering interpellations the other day in this House put by my hon. Friend, Mr. Gopalan, I gave expression to the policy of the Government. In olden days it was incumbent on the registration officer to say how many members of each union belong to the Works Committee. But, it was found that the figures that the registration officer gave were never accepted. There were many unions and all workers were not members of one union. Therefore, we thought that from the democratic point of view and from the representative point of view, the Works Committee was very essential. Similar is the case with regard to the Standing Order. I think, if these two are understood in the proper manner and their resolutions are respected, we will be having more peace and tranquillity in this country.

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" Sir, I want to refer to one other matter in this connexion and that is in regard to stay-in-strikes. I find that this new phenomenon of stay-in-strikes has come into more and more prominence in our State. While I do not deny the worker his right to go on strike by giving sufficient notice—of course, he is entitled to differ from the views of either the Government, or the Tribunal or the management—I say this question of stay-in-strike is, in my opinion, not correct, for it is taking the law into one's hand. It is a sort of intimidation of the management or the Government to force them to come to a settlement, which is quite unfair. May I take this occasion to appeal to all labour leaders to see that such stay-in-strikes are not resorted to? Of course, I quite agree that in his frustration it is natural for the worker to go on a stay-in-strike. But the Government is out to help the worker in as just and fair a manner as possible and if the worker really wants the help of the Government, he should resort to lawful and legal measures and not unlawful measures.

" Sir, coming now to the question of the power cut, it is true that in this State the power cut has considerably affected labour.

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Perhaps in the next few months it may have more repercussions and many more people will have to go out of employment or go into the shift system. There has been a claim that the Government should issue an Ordinance or pass some sort of legislation to pay the worker an unemployment allowance. Hon. Members are aware of the financial position of the State and I am afraid that until it improves this suggestion cannot be seriously considered, for it may jeopardise our very difficult financial position.

"I must say on this occasion that the mill-owners of Coimbatore have been generous. They have come to some understanding and I do not know if it satisfies the workers. But, they have agreed to pay a minimum salary, that is, they will pay it if the worker does not get full work. Of course, it is a good beginning and I do hope the mill-owners will be able to pay more in view of the delicate situation in which they are placed. Whatever it is I only hope that in view of the conditions beyond the control of any one in this State, both labour and the management will co-operate and see that peace is maintained.

"Now, Sir, I would like to say a few words in regard to the handloom industry to which most of the hon. Members referred in some detail or other. I wish to put a few questions to myself and answer them. First, is it true that enormous quantities of mill cloth are dumped into our State? More than one Member made an allegation that unwanted mill cloth is dumped into this State and therefore the handloom industry suffers. In the year 1950 we brought 97,482 bales into the State; in 1951 we brought 162,947 bales and in 1952 we brought 158,695 bales, which is less than that in 1951. All these quantities were brought at the request of the dealers. I may say that all this was not consumed, because the Director of Controlled Commodities tells me that many of these are exported to other States on the application of dealers because they find that the mill cloth has no sale in this State.

"Sir, some hon. Members have asked what has happened to the resolution of this Assembly recommending to the Government of India to reserve all bordered dhoties and coloured sarees to handlooms. And what have the Government of India done in this matter? I can only say that we have pressed on the Government of India with all the emphasis that we can command that the resolution of this Assembly must be implemented. It is true that the Hon. Minister for Commerce and Industry at the Centre has not been able to see eye to eye with us. He has not also slept over the matter. He has appointed the Textile Enquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Sri Nityananda Kanungo assisted by seven experts and they are now touring the country to find out the economic situation of the mills *vis-a-vis* the handloom industry. He has also appointed an All-India Handloom Board on which there are also some members from this State to look into the question as to how best the State Government and the Central Government could help the handloom weaver. We have also

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reconstituted the District Handloom Boards and the State Handloom Board whom we are consulting as to how best we can help the handloom weavers. It is true that some of their suggestions are difficult to implement for reasons beyond our control.

The Hon. Minister for Commerce at the Centre has introduced a cess on mill cloth which he proposes to utilize for the benefit of the handloom industry. The cess may come to about Rs. 6 crores according to the calculations made by the Centre. It is said that our share may come to about Rs. 1.25 crores to 1.5 crores. We have claimed that our share must be more. But as the matter stands at present, we are assured of Rs. 1.25 crores. This money will be utilized through the co-operative societies for internal marketing, for propaganda, for the starting of emporia, for the starting of institutes for research, for improving designs, for better technique and to cover the cost of transport, freight and other charges of yarn of counts that are in greatest demand. If this proposal is accepted and when the money is made available, the handloom weaver of the society will get yarn at a much cheaper price than the price at which he is getting to-day. So far as internal marketing is concerned, the Handloom Board is seriously considering the suggestions put forward that emporia must be started in every village. Hon. Members are probably aware that there are 112 emporia in this State. But most of them are in big cities and it is proposed to start emporia in the villages. We want to have a van and a mobile shop by which the sale of handloom goods will be increased. How are we to improve designs? The Handloom Board has given suggestions for standardizing handloom cloth and for the replacement of throw shuttle looms by fly-shuttle looms which cost about Rs. 50 per loom. They have also suggested that the co-operative societies should have dye-houses of their own. There are now seven pattern-making factories and the Board has suggested that we should have some more such factories. We also want to award more prizes for the winning designs in handloom cloth.

"Some Members have said that the price of yarn is going up and that yarn is not available even now. Perhaps they are under the impression that the export of yarn to foreign countries which has been permitted by the Government of India will have serious repercussions on the availability of yarn in our country. What we have sent out of the country is the unwanted yarn three months old, and not the current yarn. Mills complained that the societies and handloom weavers were not lifting the yarn and so we permitted export. The moment we find that the export of yarn affects the interests of our handloom weavers, I assure the House that we shall protest against the export. The House can rest assured that we shall be the watch-dogs of the handloom weavers and see that their interests are safeguarded.

"So far as the export of mill cloth is concerned, it is beneficial in a way. On account of the reduction in export duty, it is quite

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likely that our country may offer for sale in foreign countries mill cloth at cheaper rate and thus successfully compete with foreign goods. I think this export will create an internal demand for handloom goods.

" So far as price of yarn is concerned, I can definitely and categorically say that the price of all counts of yarn except 30s and 40s has gone down. I have got the comparative prices, but I do not want to trouble the House with the details.

" I explained before that we want to introduce a system by which the handloom weaver will get yarn at a cheaper price. It is suggested that the handloom weavers co-operative societies and handloom weavers may be permitted to take the yarn direct from the mills. Do those who make this suggestion realize how impractical it is? Is it possible for 8,000 and odd weavers to go to the Madura Mills and ask for yarn? As a business proposition and as a matter of day to day procedure, it is impractical and therefore I would not recommend it. But I shall say this. We shall see that this handloom cess which we get is utilized to such an extent that the cost of the yarn to the handloom weaver is reduced from 6-1/8 per cent to about 2 per cent. That we shall do to make the yarn cheaper. Hon. Members have been suggesting that all the yarn of 40 counts was not made available to the State. It means that they are under the impression that we produce 40s out of Indian cotton, and that we are exporting a lot, denying 40 counts to our men. May I give a few statistics here? In the year 1952, 1,280 bales of 40s were made by spinning mills in our State and 425 bales were made by the composite mills. The entire amount of 1,280 bales was given to the weavers. Only 176 bales of the composite mills were kept back and the rest was given to the weavers in our State. I, therefore, feel that the allegation that 40s are sent out is not warranted by facts. It is asked, 'why don't you make 40s cheaper; why don't you press upon the Government of India to see that 40s are available at a cheaper rate?' Here also I would say that 40s are mostly made out of Rajapalayam cotton. They cannot be made out of other varieties. The cotton of Rajapalayam is used for making 40s. Therefore, if we want more bales of 40s there is no variety of cotton available for it, unless we go to California or Egypt, whose price is 1½ to 2 times more. Therefore, I feel that in the interests of the cotton growers we should not lower the prices of Indian cotton. If we lower the price of cotton, even the available 40s will not be available to us then.

" Sir, I must say that another chief cause is the dwindling of our foreign markets. Last year we exported to Ceylon one lakh yards less, to Malaya 1.4 lakh yards less, to Sierra Leone 17 lakh yards less, to Burma 50,000 yards less, to the United States of America 10,000 yards less, to Australia 11,000 yards less, and to Kenya, 50,000 yards less. The only country to which we exported was the United Kingdom. But even those figures are far less than the figures of bales we were exporting to those countries for four or five years. The reason is obvious. There are people in those

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countries who would like to convert the yarn into cloth. Whenever we give them yarn, they convert it into cloth, and compete with us. That is a problem which can only be tackled at the Government of India level. We are trying our best to see that our interests are safeguarded.

“ Then what about the prices, Sir? Hon. Members will agree with me if I say that price of yarn is to-day much less in the open market than the price in the controlled market. Therefore, the fear entertained by some hon. Members that because of high prices the handloom weaver is not able to get yarn is baseless. It is not warranted by facts. Hon. Members have asked me in this House a number of questions as to why it is that Government departments are not taking more handloom cloth than what they do now. We have circularised all our officers and departments. Barring one or two institutions like the High Court and the Chief Engineer (General) who have asked for about 5,000 yards and 3,000 yards respectively, the response has not been so encouraging. The reason is obvious. They all use khaddar. They are hesitant to replace khaddar by handloom cloth, because khaddar is handspun and hand-woven cloth. Therefore, they do not want one industry to suffer at the expense of another industry. Personally I would like all to use handloom cloth. But the Hon. Minister for Khadi Development will not agree to it. Therefore, between us, we have to strike a *via media*. But I assure hon. Members that whatever is possible will be done. I shall see that help is given to the fullest extent.

“ Hon. Members have been suggesting that we should send individual travel agents and delegations abroad, and that we should have emporia in foreign countries. The Madras Government are not in favour of this proposal because we believe that no good will come out of it. But the Central Government have sent travel agents abroad, and the Central Government propose to utilize the handloom fund for establishing their commercial agencies; it is suggested we can have one at Colombo, one at Singapore and the third at Baghdad. These agencies will tour the countries round about these areas. After their travels, our sales, we hope, will be more.

“ I shall now come to the co-operative scheme, commonly called Mr. Ryan's scheme, about which hon. Members have complained frequently. The complaints are three or four. The first complaint is that they do not take in as many weavers as are willing to join. It may be true in some cases, but in the large majority of cases, my information is that though allotments are made, the weavers do not join in sufficient numbers. The people say that the cause of this is twofold, namely, (1) the existing members of the primary societies are unwilling to admit and are unable to guarantee the new members and (2) the master weaver still holds control over the weavers. He gives the weavers money and all other assistance in times of need, and, therefore, the weaver is not joining the society. The second point made out is that the wage

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level of 3½ annas is against the recommendations of the High Level Handloom Committee. As I said yesterday, the High Level Handloom Committee had decided that the wage shall be six annas or whatever be the wage level in an area. It is not the intention of the Government to upset the wage level and upset the economic stability and make weavers leave their present employment. As I said yesterday, ours is a famine wage. It is not a fair wage. It is not an economic wage. Therefore, I feel that the Government are justified in saying to anybody who has work, 'please carry on.' If anybody is starving, and has no work, we say 'please come to our fold.' In some places more than 6 annas is paid. We are not able to give the existing wage, but we shall give 6 annas. I have made the position of the Government clear. I admit that, as it is, only 6,000 weavers have come into the fold. We should like a larger number to come in. The reasons for their not coming in in large numbers are not due to anything wanting on our part.

"There is one other point which this House must remember. Co-operative societies, after all, are run by weaver members themselves, and they have the responsibility for the proper maintenance of their share capital. It is true that the Government have guaranteed against any loss that they might incur as a result of the sale of cloth. But I can tell the House that to-day we have got Rs. 98,23,625 worth of cloth unsold. It is a problem which the Government and handloom weavers have got to face.

"Sir, hon. Members have spoken about the formation of the community weaving centres. My hon. Friend Mr. P. Kotaiah is perhaps one of the chief exponents of the community weaving centres. I want to ask hon. Members what exactly is the difference between a community weaving centre and a co-operative centre except that there is no share capital and the new weaver need not rely for admission on the existing members. Secondly, there is no control over the cloth produced. Those who suggest this want that Government should have absolutely no control over membership, over the yarn that is supplied, and over the cloth that is produced. I think, as a businessman, Mr. Kotaiah will certainly turn down this suggestion in the very first instance. But the Government have not done that. We say that so far as we are concerned, we are not traders. At any rate, we feel that this procedure should be tried by us. We have therefore made a recommendation to the Handloom Board itself. Mr. Kotaiah is a member thereof. Why not they try and start a few co-operative weaving centres? They have got enough members and inspectors who can see that yarn is looked after and cloth is also looked after. We promise the co-operative societies that to the extent of 5 per cent we shall be responsible for any loss that they may incur. I can assure this House that the suggestion for the starting of co-operative weaving centres, though it does not appeal to me and to my colleagues, will be examined, because of the persistent demand made by the Members of this House. The proposals are being examined, and we are looking into the matter.

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“ Then, Sir, I come to the question of starting gruel centres for weavers. The hon. Member Sri Ardhahari spoke about the plight of the handloom weavers. It is not peculiar to Tiruchengode alone. It is prevalent all over the State. I have visited Madurai, Coimbatore, Salem, Tiruchirappalli, Erode, Mangalore, etc. I can give a big list of the places I visited. Everywhere the first deputation that I received is from the handloom weavers. They say that they are suffering very much and that they are not able to sell their stock. I can only say that we are trying our best to help them. Meanwhile we do not want old people and very young people to suffer. Therefore, we started gruel centres, perhaps 2,000 in number, all over the State to give food to the weavers who are over 60 and less than 12 years of age. Younger men are supposed to find other work. What sort of work they should do is a matter for them to decide. Perhaps they cannot do any work; they are not accustomed to work. But they must accustom themselves to the changed conditions. They cannot look to ‘ A ’ or ‘ B ’ or the Government themselves. (Interruption from Sri Nagi Reddi.) I can only say that it is up to the ingenuity of myself and Sri Nagi Reddi to suggest employment for them. There is no use painting a dark picture or a black picture everywhere, in the Assembly, in the Press and in public meetings, about the plight of the weavers. It does not make them free from difficulties. It only makes them more afraid and more frustrated. I would, therefore, take this opportunity to tell my friends in the Opposition that, so far as the handloom weavers and their pitiable conditions are concerned, we are as much aware of them as the Opposition. There is nothing like a ‘ Treasury Bench weaver ’ and an ‘ Opposition weaver ’. Therefore, let us not make any such difference. They must, if I may request them most humbly, from to-day onwards admit the facts of the case and tell the people that all of us are doing our very best. I have got to say only this much. ”

“ There are other suggestions like the starting of a Handloom Finance Corporation involving crores of rupees, starting of co-operative spinning mills, joint stock companies and community development centres. If I may humbly use the expression, they are impracticable and, if I may say so, fantastic. We know how the people are suffering. I can assure the House that we are doing our very best. We are not keeping quiet; we are not passing a Resolution merely as an eyewash. We are following it up by letter and by personal contact. When I was in Delhi the other day, I met the Commerce Minister, apprised him of our difficult situation, and he and I were able to evolve some plan. It is not possible to publicise all that we want to do and what we do because there are so many vested interests coming in the way and if that is published, our laudable object may be hampered. Therefore, let the House take the assurance from me that this Government is not idle. We are not merely passing a Resolution; we are trying our very best by letters and by personal contact, to help the handloom weaver. ”

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SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Sir, I would like to inform the Hon. Minister that this State is going to get Rs. 1.25 crores out of the cess on mill cloth that has been recently imposed. Therefore, the question of finding finances or starting a Handloom Finance Corporation could easily be solved if the Government make a start with that amount."

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" I do not want to say much. When such a small thing as the improvement of the internal marketing, as facts are before me, is costing Rs. 3 crores and odd, does the hon. the Leader of the Opposition believe that the Finance Corporation can be started with Rs. 1.25 crores? Will it ever satisfy anybody? I do not think it will. The cess amount has not actually come into my hands. Collection has not yet begun. It is still in the mind of the Commerce Minister. In the course of the next few months, he may change his mind and decide not to collect it. Therefore, let not the hon. Members imagine that it is in my left hand and that I could give it with my right hand. It is in the stage of planning.

" Sir, there is one more point and I shall finish. All my Colleagues had to deal with problems affecting the State alone. Well, the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue could easily say, 'There is famine in Rayalaseema and, therefore, we can attend to it without having any repercussions on other parts.' The Hon. the Minister for Health and my other Colleagues can say the same thing. But I cannot easily say the same thing. Handloom product is a commodity which has got to sell, and non-sale of it will have repercussions not only on our State but on the other States of this Union. For example, if the Hon. Minister for Commerce of the Union Government says that we shall reduce the output by 60 per cent, immediately there is a protest from State A or State B or State C. I am not naming it. I do not want to land myself in controversy that way. But I can tell this House that there are a number of States which have protested against it. I do not know what is behind that protest. But the fact remains that the protest is there. When I ask the Commerce Minister of the Union Government for his views, he says, 'Here is the answer: I have got to face international problems also if I have to get more handloom products sold. I have got to get into touch with the Governments of Burma, Ceylon, East Africa, Pakistan, America, the Philippines and Nigeria, for securing buyers.' This is what the Union Commerce Minister says. I only want to tell the House, 'Our intentions are good; the desire is there and if we are not able to fulfil all that the hon. Members would like us to fulfil, it is because they are beyond our control. Be patient; trust this Government. We will do our best.'

" Thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The debate will continue till 2 p.m. The Hon. Minister for Finance will reply to the debate at 3 p.m. after lunch.

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[Mr. Speaker]

“ Regarding the point of order raised by the hon. Member Sri Krishna Rao, I must tell the House that the letter sent to the Secretary has been put up to me for orders but I have not yet been able to go through it. So, I shall reply to him to-morrow.”

SRI S. VEMIAH :—“ On a point of order, Sir. The Hon. the Minister for Labour and Industries did not say anything about industrial labour.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ It is not a point of order at all. It is a point of information.”

* SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“ Mr. Speaker, the thin end of the budget has been left over to us to-day at the fag end of the Budget debate.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ If the hon. Member had so desired, he could have expressed to me the day before yesterday and I would have allowed him to speak then.”

* SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“ That apart, Sir, I was trying to catch your eye but could not succeed. Sir, the Budget, on the whole, is a very agreeable document. It tells us a story simply and heroically of the struggles of the Finance Minister to meet the distress conditions in various parts of the State during the last year. Of course, he has done a good job of a bad year. There was famine on the one side and there was decreased income on the other side. To add to the trouble, there was a cyclone towards the end of the year. Therefore, I say that the Finance Minister has done well. But I must join the opposition against the increase of court-fees for the simple reason that the fundamental duty of any civilized Government is to provide dispensation of justice cheaply and freely. In this country, the dispensation of justice is neither cheap nor free. Now, the poor classes of people who go to Court to secure justice have got to pay the penalty. The increase of court-fees is an indirect infliction on those classes of people who are poor. They are poor and they have to borrow. The burden of this increase will fall on this poor class of litigants, who form the body politic. The Hon. the Finance Minister could very well have secured these Rs. 50 lakhs through other means, whereby people who are able to pay may be called upon to pay. He could have raised the sales tax on mill cloth imported from other States and from outside, firstly to increase his income and secondly to provide protection to the handloom industry. He could have increased the tax on silk and other such luxuries. He could have levied a new type of sales tax on the transfer of properties in towns worth more than Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 by legislating that all those who buy properties of this value in towns will be called upon to pay a portion of the increased capital value as sales tax. A new sales tax on the sale of second-hand cars could have been imposed. There are ever so many such items which could easily have come under taxation proposals. The entertainment tax could

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have been increased. In our State, there are a number of well-going electrical concerns. But I am sorry to state that the Government have been taking only the losing concerns. There are ever so many concerns which are declaring fat dividends to the shareholders and if only the Government take over such concerns they can very easily get a good lot of money. Although they may not have capital to buy them just now, the Government can give them some bonds and take those concerns over, allowing for payment of a dividend at 3 per cent. The rest of the dividend would accrue as profits to the Government. It is a pity the Hon. Finance Minister has failed to cast his eyes on such concerns. To-day he has chosen that class of people who are unable to pay any substantial amount. It would really have been a good thing if only he had taken over some of these concerns which are enriching the rich who could afford to pay.

“ Sir, when the Hon. Chief Minister assumed office in this State we were full of hope that corruption would be eradicated, once and for all. I must say that corruption and the talk of corruption has lessened to some extent. We know that talks of corruption among high officials in the mufassal and in the Secretariat, and talks of corruption among others in charge of authority, talks of partisan spirit, talks of unpatriotic acts on the part of those in authority and all such talks in roads, markets, bazaars and other public places are things of the past. We are really proud that such state of affairs exists in our State at the present time. I would like even to go a step further and say that I was most happy to note the purity of the present administration when I saw that a Minister who visited my constituency some time back refused to step into the car of any party, but hired his own taxi. That is exactly the example that should be set up by those in office. Such an example by gentlemen in authority is, I am sure, bound to infuse a sense of purity and a sense of public-spiritedness in the lower ranks of the services. Sir, unfortunately, to-day the servicemen in the lower ranks are corrupt and corruption is increasing in the lower ranks. As was pointed out by one of the Members from the Government side, corruption is increasing and deepening in the lower ranks. This is having its effect on the poor people who have to deal with them. In this connexion, I would suggest to the Hon. Chief Minister to hold a secret session of this House in which the whole matter could be thrashed out fully. I am in a position to bring to the notice of this House a number of instances in which the lower ranks are involved in serious corruption charges. Especially when higher officials visit the district headquarters, their expenditure has to be met by the officials below, who have to pay their hotel bills, shopping bills-cum-repair and other bills. These officials in their turn extract this money from the poor people who go to them in connexion with various small matters. That is why I say that if a secret session of this House is held, the whole matter could be discussed and some speedy measures could be taken to eradicate corruption. I am sure that the assumption of office by the Chief Minister has purified the atmosphere round about the

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Secretariat and the Cabinet room. It has also raised the stature of the Members of this House even. Gone are the days when M.L.As. could influence Ministers and get things done and undone. Gone are the days when M.L.As. could approach the departmental heads, threaten them with this and that if they do not do this and that. Gone are the days when we used to hear talks of nepotism and favouritism. In this respect our real gratitude is due to the Hon. Chief Minister. Our stature has risen by leaps and bounds and to this extent I am thankful to the Hon. Chief Minister and the present Cabinet who are responsible for the present state of affairs. In this connexion, I must express my thanks to the Cabinet Ministers from Andhra whom we will be missing shortly, who have been very kind, good and courteous. Any Chief Minister could not have got a better set of colleagues.

(At this stage Mr. Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair.)

“ As regards land revenue, the Hon. Minister for Land Revenue has been preaching a homily to us as to what we should do and should not do. Unfortunately, he has not done what he has been preaching to others. Some time ago, he said that a Bill to tax the income of the agricultural plantations was on the anvil and that it would be placed before this House very soon. But unfortunately he has not done that till now. The income from that tax would have easily yielded a sum of Rs. 20 to 25 lakhs which would be very welcome to the already depleted exchequer of this State. But he has failed to do what he said and has placed the Hon. Finance Minister in a hopeless quandary. I do not know why that Bill has not been brought forward and whether that Bill will at all see the light of the day. Again, at a time when we are faced with acute financial stringency, I do not know why the Land Revenue Surcharge Bill has been dropped. When I speak of this Bill, I have my eyes on the delta landholders, and not on the drought-stricken famine areas. If only the Government had amended that Bill and applied it to the landholders in the delta areas, I am sure they would have realised a substantial amount. After decontrol and after the removal of many other control measures they are getting a lot of money. Paddy is selling at the rate of Rs. 30, 40 and even 50. I do not know why all the illegal money that had been raised from the hunger and poverty of the suffering people in Rayalaseema and the southern districts is allowed to increase the bank balances of those rich people and why it should not go to fill the public coffers for use by the public of the State.

“ As regards medical facilities, it was the fond hope of many of us that this Government would increase the medical amenities to rural folk. But we are sorry to find that it is the other way about, although the accounts show some sort of increase in expenditure. The actual amenities, the pro rata amenities do not reach the people in the countryside. The district headquarters hospitals are starved for want of proper staff. The dispensaries in the mufassal

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are few and far between and are not properly manned. I have received a letter from the donor of a hospital who has donated 50 to 60 thousand rupees. This is what he says in his letter :

'There was one Mr. Rajagopalan, M.B.B.S., who was the last Medical Officer attached to this Government Free Dispensary. He was suddenly transferred to Visakhapatnam about December 1951, and ever since, there is no Medical Officer for this Government Free Dispensary. It was promised by the authorities that a proper Medical Officer will be appointed at a very early date. But, this has not been done so far. There has always been large attendance daily in this dispensary on account of its being located in a proper central place surrounded by a number of villages. On account of the absence of a proper Medical Officer for nearly nine months now, people are feeling it very keenly and they have to go many miles for even ordinary medical help, not to speak of maternity and other important medical relief. There has been incessant clamour by the villagers beseeching me to make a representation to get a proper Medical Officer appointed at an early date. I may incidentally mention to you that, in the pre-merger period, as well as immediately after merger, there was never an occasion when this dispensary worked without a Medical Officer even for a fortnight.'

This is the information given to me by that donor. What is this due to? There is dearth of doctors. That is the candid confession made by the Hon. Minister for Health. Can we not do something by which we can get enough doctors for our mufassal and village dispensaries and hospitals? These doctors are now trained by the Government, at State expense, in the various medical colleges run by them. Now these doctors after availing themselves of the opportunities provided by the State at public expense are going to Burma and Singapore on more favourable and more prosperous terms. At a time when we are short of doctors and at a time when most of our dispensaries in the rural parts and mufassal are finding it difficult to get doctors to man them, is it fair that these people are allowed to go abroad? I would even go to the extent of suggesting that there should be a ban on these people's leaving the country. We should introduce a condition or a definite clause even at the time of admission of these people into the Government medical institutions that after passing out of the college or institution concerned, to become eligible for setting up private practice or taking up a job under Government or any other agency, they must serve in a hospital or dispensary in the mufassal or village for a period of 5 or 6 years. Sir, I have to submit that the Government are also in a way responsible for the present dearth of doctors. I know that a couple of friends of mine who had passed out brilliantly were unable to get jobs here two years ago and they went to Ceylon where they were warmly welcome, and given employment immediately. There are such people who are frustrated. The services of such people must be utilized fully and squarely by the Government. Therefore, this dearth of doctors and lack of medical aid to the poor people are brought about to some extent by the indifference and negligence and also some sort of neggardliness shown by them towards the qualified doctors. It is not unfair for the doctors to demand some living wage. They must be started at least on Rs. 200 or Rs. 250. Having lived in the city from the early days, from the days of their studentship with comfortable luxuries, it is but natural for them to expect some decent standard of living. This is all the more necessary for them especially when we want them to go and work in villages where they will not get

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even the ordinary, elementary needs. Therefore, I suggest that some decent standard of living should be provided to doctors. Their basic salaries should be raised and they should not be allowed to go outside. As far as possible, they must be compulsorily made to put in a few years of service in the countryside before they release themselves either for private practice or for seeking employment elsewhere.

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a.m.

" The Government should observe the age-long sanctity of the revenue remission code. They have violated it when they said that ordinary remission would be given only to those who paid Rs. 100 and less by way of kist. What is the logic behind it? Do they think that the rain gods are favourable to those that pay more than 100 rupees and open the skies to them but shut the poor landholders out so that they alone should be entitled to revenue remission? The whole code is based on the fact that whenever there is a failure of crops all landholders—big or small—are entitled to a remission of revenue. Now if the Government deny that relief to one section and give relief to the other section, it is very discriminatory. The Government must realise that the big landholders in the southern districts, in Rayalaseema and in other drought-affected areas are the worst affected. They have a status to maintain whether they turn out to be successful agriculturists or not. They have yet to maintain a status. They cannot go to gruel centres. They cannot take advantage of the famine relief works. They have to live in their homes. All these things require a certain quantum of money for very ordinary existence. On top of all this, if you deny to them the relief that is legitimately due to them and if you deny the relief that was provided to them with all sanctity about it by a foreign Government themselves, it is not quite becoming of the present Government. Congressmen before they came to power got on house-tops and proclaimed 'when we come to power, the whole agricultural population would be turned into owners of land and the fields of the now landless will then be flowing with milk and honey'. Now you have eaten your own words. You have gone back on the solemn promises you have given to the agriculturists. This solemn document prepared by the foreigner for giving liberal concessions to all those affected you have thrown to the winds and now you speak as though you have done something for the good of the people and for the good of the agriculturists in the countryside. I may tell the Government the people in the drought-affected areas are not satisfied with the administration. I am in complete agreement with what has been said by many friends opposite and I support word for word what was said by Mr. R. V. Swaminathan. Pudukkottai is adjoining the Ramanathapuram district. Conditions in the two places do not differ very much and all conditions that are prevalent in Ramanathapuram district are present in Pudukkottai. Therefore, whatever provision the Government make for the betterment of the condition of the Ramanathapuram people must be automatically applied to Pudukkottai also. Pudukkottai during the Raja's administration was paying a tax including excise duty of nearly 40 lakhs

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of rupees. To-day they pay including excise duty nearly one crore and twenty-five lakhs of rupees. What is the return they get? What is the progress we find in the State? What have you done for the people? You have not taken up even one major irrigation project in the area. Pudukkottai abounds in jungle streams. Several representations have been made to the Public Works Minister to tap the resources, to dam the streams, to harness them and to provide facilities for irrigation therefrom and to divert such stored water into the adjoining tanks. But in spite of four years of incessant representation, nothing has been done. What has happened? On the other hand every amenity that was enjoyed by the people of the State before merger has been taken away. And now you are pouncing upon the people and inflicting upon them maximum taxes. The people are groaning under heavy taxation. In this connexion, I must take off my hat to the Governor. Of all the politicians and other big men that visited Pudukkottai, he alone was able to know and he alone respected the feelings and aspirations of the people of Pudukkottai. I may tell this Government that this Governor of our State is enshrined in the hearts of the people of Pudukkottai. He went direct into their hearts. He knew what Pudukkottai was even before he entered upon his new office. I would invite attention of the present Government to the state of affairs in the State now and call on them to pay special attention to the condition of the people there. No doubt the difficulties of the State employees have been very quickly and greatly attended to. I thank the Government for that. I must also thank the Minister for Education for solving the problem of teachers even within a few months of his taking up office, a problem that could not be solved for more than five years before. If only the Government look upon the people of Pudukkottai a little more kindly and treat them properly by way of improving their conditions, I am sure they cannot get a set of more loyal people than the people of Pudukkottai.

“ I must then say a word about the Minister for Agriculture because he is also the Minister for Forests. Forests which were once the national wealth of Pudukkottai, which were the pride of Pudukkottai, are now one vast area of bleak, open countryside. The whole forest has disappeared because of illicit cutting of trees. Why is it so? Because the officials there are hand in glove with the illicit cutters and the result is that what was once green forest where nobody could have entered even is now the open field of every body. It was formerly the property of the people of the whole State. It is now nobody's property but the heaven of the illicit cutter with the result that you cannot get even one green branch or a leaf of a tree. Again why? Because the original employees of the Pudukkottai State Service have been completely transferred from that place elsewhere. They are not paid yet the Madras scales of pay. Though formerly their pay was small they were living near their homes. They did not mind the low pay and they were loyal servants yet because it was the land of their birth. Now it is not so. The forest round about their homes

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was nursing them. The environment was there. But suddenly all these people have been transferred and not given the Madras scales of pay. And people from outside Pudukkottai have been brought in there. What is now happening in the forest is that the supervisory control is such that everything helps illicit cutting of forests. Formerly, a Tahsildar in charge of a taluk was completely in charge of everything in the area including control of forests, grant of loans, etc. He was the final authority on all matters pertaining to that area. But now the whole system is completely changed. Now the Tahsildar goes to a village and attends only to revenue functions. He has to close his eyes to all deforestation in the forests and what the people represent to him in regard to other matters. He attends to revenue work only and goes away. He receives no representation with regard to forests, agriculture, etc., and people suffer a lot on account of such difficulties. I would earnestly and respectfully request the Minister to look into the structure of the Pudukkottai administration before merger and see how that small area was so beautifully and efficiently administered in the past with a small income of 30 or 40 lakhs of rupees. There were a few Ministers driving in swanky motor cars, the paraphernalia of an army, royalty, etc., all for a small income. But to-day, so many lakhs of rupees have been added to the revenues of the State, and corruption has increased and the efficiency of administration has decreased. Formerly the whole system of administration was integrated in a few persons with the result that the poorest man was able to reach the highest official and obtain justice cheaply and quickly. The system at present is such that it is easy to pay Rs. 25 as illegal gift to a Revenue Inspector and get a thing done there and on the spot rather than refuse this amount and be prepared to spend over Rs. 200 to take the matter in appeal and submit oneself to delay, pecuniary loss and bodily discomfort and even if these agonies are got over and Madras is reached, no representations could be easily and readily made to the high authorities. Such is the structure of the Government, Sir, that nothing could be done."

* SRI K. M. SEETHI:—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Muslim League Legislature Party in the Assembly is of the view that the present Budget prepared under extraordinarily difficult and adverse circumstances, in which the State is placed deserves sympathetic and appreciative reception by this House. This Budget prepared, as I said, under extraordinary and difficult circumstances has taken care not to starve the nation-building and welfare departments of the State. Having spent 10 crores of rupees on famine relief and with the prospect of several crores of rupees having to be spent in the future also in relieving distress in various parts of the State, the present Ministry can certainly take credit that they have been able to prepare a Budget without starving the nation-building and welfare departments of the State, providing funds as far as possible for the welfare schemes for which we have been agitating and clamouring all the time. Sir, the existing welfare schemes have been provided for,

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and a promise is held out that after six months, the question of having new schemes will also be considered. Under these circumstances there is absolutely no reason for criticising the Ministry for the presentation of a Budget like this or for drawing a gloomy picture of the whole situation. In fact the primary object of the State should be to raise the standard of the common man and for that the policy of the Government has been enunciated and provision has been made for various schemes that will help in the direction of raising the standard of the common man. I was surprised to find that the most commendable step now taken by the Central Government with the assistance of the State Governments, namely, the adumbration of the Community Projects by which a serious and honest attempt is made to raise the lot of the common man with the co-operation of the public, has come in for a variety of criticisms. Hon. Members went even to the extent of saying that these projects are absolutely useless and even the Five-Year Plan itself is absolutely useless. I submit, Sir, this is an attitude which I cannot understand. That attitude can only be reconciled with an ideology which does not believe in ameliorative measures taken either by the State or the public, as ameliorative measures according to that ideology will stand in the way of the revolution it visualises and aims at and so should be cried down. I can understand their attitude only on that basis. I was also surprised to hear criticism made from that quarter of the efforts made by non-officials to relieve poverty. It was also a surprise to me to hear from a particular hon. Member coming from Malabar that he has nothing but condemnation for that very, very useful and commendable organization that we have in Kozhikode, the Poor Home Society, which is doing a lot of service for the relief of distress, poverty and destitution of the people of Malabar. He had nothing but condemnation for a society which has been running a home for the disabled, the destitutes, the lepers and the destitute women, which runs a higher elementary school, promotes home industries and has a home for junior boys and girls. That such an institution should come in for condemnation at his hands would only indicate the ideology of the party to which the hon. Member belongs, an ideology which will never tolerate ameliorative measures, official or non-official and will have nothing but a bloody revolution for the relief of distress. Therefore I am not surprised when such Members describe the Community Projects as absolutely useless. This opposition against the Community Projects and their extension to other areas is the result of ignorance of the real nature of the Community Projects. What are these projects for? As far as we know of them from their working in Malabar, it is responsible for creating and maintaining good maternity wards, laying out good roads, running schools and several other public amenities with public co-operation. The Project Advisory Committee have sanctioned the installation of an X-ray apparatus costing Rs. 35,000 in Palghat hospital very near the place from which the hon. Member who made the criticism comes. With the co-operation of the public, Government will be able to do quite a good lot for the

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amelioration of the lot of the people, for the liquidation of poverty, for the raising of the lot of the ordinary man. In fact, to avoid a bloody revolution and bring about a better society, economically, socially and otherwise, the schemes under the Five-Year Plan adumbrated by the Central Government and sought to be implemented by the State Government are the best and the most helpful solution that could be found. Therefore, I respectfully submit that the State Government deserves every encouragement and support from the non-official public for the successful carrying on of these welfare schemes which they have now launched upon.

“ Sir, much has been said and I have also contributed to that complaint about the needs of Malabar and the various difficulties and the disabilities under which that district is suffering. I cannot however subscribe to the view that the present Ministry is callous to the needs of Malabar, when I find that provision has been made for certain major schemes of irrigation in Malabar like the completion of the Malampuzha scheme, and taking up new schemes such as Walayar and Mangaiaim. The present Ministry, I believe, is really anxious to remedy the various complaints made by the Members from Malabar. So I cannot say they are callous. But I cannot help saying that there was a lot of neglect of the needs of the district in the past. In the past the representations made by us, the representatives of the public were not properly heeded to by the powers that be. There is therefore much leeway to be made up. I expect the present Ministry will do its best in making up the leeway. I would even suggest that the Government should call for a report from the Collector in consultation with the non-official representatives of the public about the various needs of the district and draw up a comprehensive scheme for meeting those needs as and when the Government are in a position to meet those needs and to the best of their ability. The primary needs of Malabar are good roads and bridges, drinking water, hospitals, maternity wards, irrigation schemes and health centres and such other things and these have to be met. That is why I say that a scheme should be drawn up based on a comprehensive report made on the representations made on the floor of this House and outside and on that basis an earnest attempt should be made by the Government to make up the leeway in the matter of meeting the needs of the Malabar district. Very many occasions there were when the representatives from Malabar had to complain that Malabar was the Cinderella of the State. It was really so for many years. The people of Malabar were also partly responsible for that. They were not sufficiently vocal in pressing their demands and situated as they are, far away from the metropolis of the State, they were not able to make their voices heard. Now matters have been pointedly brought to the notice of the Hon. Minister and it is up to the Ministry to take more earnest measures to meet the needs of Malabar.

“ Sir, with regard to the position of the Muslim minority of the State, I have to bring to the notice of the Government the

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various disabilities from which this minority community suffers. For a State to be just, not only just but generous to a minority, is only in keeping with the highest ideals that should be adopted by a State in the matter of meting out justice to the various and component sections of its body politic. Take international organizations like the United Nations Organization and their attitude in such matters. They have recognized the necessity of meting out justice and generosity to minority sections of the community. The Muslims have been recognized as a minority community. It is only just and proper for us to ask for a more generous treatment by Government with reference to the various needs of the community, political, economic and educational. Their difficulties are very many in this direction and the entire Muslim community is really backward in these matters. There is, therefore, no justification for singling out certain sections of the community and saying that they alone are backward. The entire community is backward and my request to the Government is that the community should be treated as backward and should be given relief in the matter of education, representation in public services and such other matters.

10-40
a.m.

" Sir, while dealing with this matter I have to bring to the notice of the Government the necessity for providing religious instruction in schools though the Constitution places a restriction on it in the case of State schools. What I respectfully submit is, to those communities who want religious instruction permission should be given for giving religious instruction outside the school hours and at the expense of parents, without infringing the provisions of the Constitution that no State funds should be utilized for giving religious instruction. Apart from respecting the sentiments of communities who believe in religious and moral instruction, there is the other important aspect also that the imparting of religious instruction will certainly help to give the students a sense of moral values and discipline and a sense of love and respect for one's own fellowmen and it will certainly help the growth of an orderly and disciplined society in the State. Religion has never been an obstacle in the path of the progress of humanity. It has helped in relieving distress, in raising the moral standards of people and in giving them a correct appreciation of the moral values. Even in the interests of orderly progress of the State, this scheme of religious instruction will promote the general welfare of the State and the general peace and prosperity of the State. So, I plead that at least religious instruction in schools outside school hours and at the expense of parents should be permitted. As far as my community is concerned, it is their unanimous and earnest wish that I have voiced forth in this matter and I would request that permission might be given for religious instructions being imparted in schools without any further delay.

" Sir, while referring to the needs of Malabar, I would like to make one or two observations regarding the lot of elementary school teachers and their sufferings. In fact representations have been made to the Government about the needs and sufferings of

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the elementary school teachers. I am glad to know that the Hon. Minister for Education gave us an indication that the Government were considering the question on the basis of the report submitted by the Director of Public Instruction who conducted an enquiry in the district, and that Government would be passing orders shortly. But I have to make one submission that the demand by the teachers' organizations that all the elementary schools should be taken over and managed by the Government, is a demand to which I and my party do not subscribe. Such a course will lead to regimentation of elementary education. Besides, Government cannot afford to undertake the running of all elementary schools. Even granting the existence of several disabilities and difficulties of the teachers I say that this demand of theirs should not be met and elementary schools should be allowed to be managed by private agencies as at present. If there are any irregularities in the management it should be seen that they are rectified and managements might be taken to task for any injustice or hardship that is caused to the teachers. There is no case made out for the abolition of private managements in respect of elementary education as many of the aided schools are more efficient than State schools, and considering the great service rendered by private agencies in the spread of elementary education I emphatically oppose the demand for the abolition of private management. With regard to the threat of strike held out by the teachers, myself and my party have no sympathy for the attitude that has been taken by the teachers' associations in that regard. Teachers will be setting a very bad example for the boys and girls who are placed under their control if they go on strike and they will be undermining the sense of discipline of the students whom they are instructing. They will be doing incalculable harm to the cause of education in the State if they resort to such courses. Schools are considered to be the temples of learning and as such these ideas of Trade Union methods should not be entertained by the teachers. It is my request to public men who are dealing with these matters that they should neither encourage nor instigate such activities on the part of elementary school teachers.

" Sir, there are several areas in Malabar district where immediate medical aid is required. In several important rural centres we have no hospitals and dispensaries. Even in important towns like Ponnani, Badagara and Baliapatam, measures taken for medical and sanitary aid are far from satisfactory. Ponnani is one of the biggest taluks in the district and the hospital there was founded about half a century back with 30 beds and the same bed strength is there even to-day. Hundreds of people are suffering. Patients are unable to get accommodation even in open verandahs. I would therefore request that the bed strength in the Ponnani hospital and other hospitals in Malabar should be immediately increased and sufficient provision made for the stocking of medicines in the existing hospitals and for the opening of new hospitals and dispensaries in the district in as many centres as possible."

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* SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the House has listened to the dismal budget presented by the Hon. Finance Minister and to the uninspiring picture it paints for the future. May I characterize the budget as a ‘do nothing budget’, intended for marking time.

“ Sir, when the Rajaji Ministry was ushered in, the appeal was made to non-Congressmen that it was the lesser evil—the greater evil being Governor’s rule. When we look back over the past, I submit, Sir, that in practice we have experienced Governor’s rule. What are the legislative achievements of this Government during the past year that it can boast of except a minor piece of tenancy legislation, and that too limited to one district, and a new taxation measure involving a surcharge on the motor transport fares? This is all the legislative achievement of this Government, in spite of the fact that it is headed by an ex-Governor-General of India. In addition they may also boast of a miscarriage, viz., postponement of the Bill for levying a surcharge on land revenue. The evaluation of Government is not only on the basis of what it has done, but also on what it could have done and did not do. I submit, Sir, that the bane of Madras politics in the past was that the governments were the playthings of inveterate king-makers of mediocre political stature. Sir, the present Government, according to my estimate, is a stable Government in the sense that there is no possibility or likelihood of an alternative Government being formed and the dangers that existed in the past of governments being upset by revolts in the rear do not exist to-day. In such an advantageous situation the Chief Minister could have played the role of a democratic Bonaparte and he could have undertaken such of those measures which the previous Government had failed to undertake for fear of being overthrown through any party factional revolts. Far from trying to play the role of a democratic Bonaparte, what the Government have been doing is to play the game of what has been termed yesterday, the game of electoral democracy which in fact is directed only to dulling all Opposition and to create illusory expectations for the future. They have tried to divert attention from their own mistakes, of omissions and commissions, by saying that things can only be solved by the Central Government or some authority higher than the Centre. The general impression that was created through press and propaganda was that the Chief Minister had some extraordinary pull with the Central Government and even with God Almighty and that with this pull some betterment in the state of affairs in the State was expected. I dare say, Sir, that some results have been achieved as a result of the pressure put on the Centre. The Chief Minister and the Finance Minister impressed on the Central Government the need to give this State a greater share of income-tax and to that extent we are benefited.

10-50
a.m.

“ Let me tell the Hon. Chief Minister that however much he may try to bargain with the Centre, surely he cannot expect to get any greater help within the framework of the present Constitution. What does the Hon. Chief Minister say? He

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invites one and all in the House, be they Congressmen or members of the Opposition, ' Rally round me so that we can put pressure on the Central Government to grant us loans, grants or subsidies for famine relief. I say this is nothing but side-tracking the issue. This is to divert the attention of the public from the sins of omission and commission of this present Government. What has this Government done during the one year of its existence to find adequate resources to solve the problems it has undertaken to solve? The first thing it did when it presented its first Budget was to come with proposals for taxation. The surcharge on land revenue was sought to be increased. But what happened subsequently? We thought that we would pass that measure with modification during the present session. But we are now told that the Government have decided to drop that measure of taxation. Why have they decided to drop it? It is because the present Congress Government fears the possibility of a revolt of the Congressmen representing big landlords' interest in case the surcharge on land revenue is increased. The lame excuse that the decision for dropping the Land Revenue Surcharge Bill is because of the impending partition of the State is only an eyewash.

" With the impending partition of our State it is highly probable that we are going to see the recrudescence of the old political game of king-making. Therefore we may conclude that the strategic retreat with regard to the Surcharge Bill has been carried out with an eye to the future. Let me refer in this connexion to a speech of the Hon. Chief Minister addressing the merchants of the south. He told them: ' If you want me then I shall continue in office'. To obtain their support he held out the promise that he may consider abolishing the multi-point sales tax on some commodities. But when the poverty-stricken people of this State have for long demanded the abolition of the sales tax on essential commodities, no concession is made or promise of relief held out to them. This plea by the Hon. Chief Minister to the merchants reminds me of the pilgrimage by Henry IV to Cannossa to plead that all his sins and mistakes may be forgiven.

" Let me now come to the problem of the handloom industry. The Hon. Chief Minister has taken pains to move the resolution urging upon the Central Government that the weaving of dhoties and sarees may be reserved for handloom. I submit Sir, that this is a clever move to divert discontent and is not intended to solve the problems of handloom weavers. I am unable to see that any good will come out of it. What is the status of the handloom industry now? The Chief Minister is only tinkering with the problem of handloom industry. That is my view. In 1949 the export of handloom cloth from India was 5,100,000 yards. In 1951 it fell to 3,900,000 yards. In 1952 it fell still further to about 1,800,000 yards. No amount of pressure on the Central Government is going to improve the export of handloom cloth in view of the changes that have occurred of late in the world's economic situation. What are the anticipated results of putting pressure on the

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Central Government? I really do not understand. What is this reservation of dhoties and sarees going to do? Is it really going to improve the handloom industry? Will the Central Government immediately pass orders that the entire production of dhoties and sarees be reserved for the handloom industry without taking into account the colossal repercussions such a move will have on the textile industry? To-day how does the textile industry stand? The production of mill cloth to-day is 4,000 million yards of which more than 50 per cent is confined to the production of dhoties and sarees. Is it possible for the Central Government to stop such a volume of production overnight and throw several hundred thousand workmen out of jobs and thus aggravate the already worsening unemployment problem? Still the Hon. Chief Minister persists in attempting to delude the public into thinking that the Central Government can immediately order such a reservation."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"The hon. Member should know that 100 per cent of handloom production is confined to dhoties and sarees only whereas it is only 50 per cent in the case of mills."

* SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI:—"Let me clarify. The total production of mill cloth by the textile industry roughly amounts to 4,000 million yards. Of this about 2,000 million yards relate to the production of dhoties and sarees. To-day the *per capita* consumption of cloth is only 12 yards, as against 18 yards before the war, due to the fall in purchasing power. If sarees and dhoties are reserved for the handloom industry, prices of these commodities must necessarily go up and the consequence will be a further fall in *per capita* cloth consumption. When this is the deplorable state of affairs, how can we conceive that there is any likelihood of the Central Government issuing immediate orders reserving production of dhoties and sarees only to handlooms? It is because this Government has neither efficiency nor courage, nor capacity to tackle the handloom weaving problem on correct lines that it is tinkering with the illusory solution of reservation."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"It is true that the hon. Member has an indirect sympathy for the mill industry. He says that this proposal for a 50 per cent reservation of production of dhoties and sarees should not be agreed to. May I ask the hon. Member to bear in mind that the handloom weaver stands to lose by not 50 per cent as in the case of the mill industry but 100 per cent, in case such reservation is not accepted? That is why I want the hon. Member who represents the workers in the mill industry to be more humane in his analysis."

* SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI:—"No, Sir, let me not be misunderstood as though I have no sympathy for the handloom weavers. I only wanted to show that the present Ministry has no settled programme for solving this problem. I suggest this side-tracking of the issue is only for diverting discontent without attempting to solve it. Have the present Ministry done anything

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to reorganize the handloom industry? In the year 1944 there were 20 lakhs of handlooms in India. By 1946-47 it had risen to 28 lakhs. What has the present Government done to find ways and means of dealing with the surplus looms? The Government have failed to tackle the problem since that time."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ The hon. Member is conversant with the rationalization of looms in mills. But the position is wholly different in the case of the handloom families of which we have quite a large number. We cannot rationalise families. We can only rationalise looms in mills. We cannot ask the weavers not to multiply. Nor can we ask them not to work in their homes. The position of rationalising handloom weaving is very different from rationalising weaving in mills. I find the hon. Member is somewhat ignorant of the life of the handloom weavers.” (Laughter.)

* SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI :—“ I may be ignorant of the life of the handloom weavers. But as far as we can see from the economic data I can very well appreciate the fact that the handloom weavers are suffering. But what is the solution that we can offer to them for their relief? At any rate I am sure that the way in which the present Ministry is tackling the question will not bear any fruit. There are other ways by which relief could be given to the handloom weavers. For instance the textile industry is steadily growing. The textile production in our country is increasing year by year. In our own State of Madras there are about 60 to 70 thousand textile workers. The turnover of labour is of sizable dimensions. Why do not the present Government persuade the mills to recruit their hands only from the handloom weavers?

“ Now let me come to the question of famine relief. What have this Government done in this regard? They say that they have spent something to the tune of 10 crores of rupees on famine relief. On how many people has this sum been spent? The Central Government have said that there are 8,000,000 people who are at present suffering from famine in this State. Therefore what is the average expenditure that this Government have incurred on a single individual due to famine? The sum works out roughly to Rs. 12 a person. This is the paltry sum that the Madras Government can boast of as having spent on each of its citizens at the time of famine. Even a backward country like China did much better when she suffered under similar conditions and undertook many public works schemes which simultaneously provided relief for the famine-stricken and executed measures against the recurrence of scarcity. There are no radical solutions offered, there is only a pacifying of the existing discontent. That is all that this Government are interested in. This Government do not propose radical agrarian reform to solve agrarian discontent. Instead, the giving of a few ounces of gruel seems to be taken up only with a view to pacify the existing discontent, the

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apeal to hon. Members ' let us all pull together and ask the Central Government to give us an extra subsidy or extra loan ' is a diversionary manieuvre. Why not embark upon regular agrarian reform? Why not introduce an agricultural income-tax, and thus solve some of the basic problems? And why not get more revenue from the richer sections of the population? Instead, what do we find? I think Mr. Muthiah Chettiyar was quite right when he said, in his own interest, ' Let us all put pressure on the Central Government '. Why? Because, the inevitable alternative is for the Government to tax him and people like him in order to get more money.

" I thank you, Sir."

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER :—" Sri P. T. Rajan will now speak."

* SRI P. T. RAJAN :—" Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I was taken by surprise when you were good enough to call me. I have not even thought on what points I should address the House.

" The first point that suggests itself to me is with regard to the grant of lands to tyagis. As soon as the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari became Chief Minister, he declared himself strongly against these grants. He even wanted to resume those lands which had been given to tyagis; but subsequently he appears to have changed his mind. He said in a speech at Madurai that he was going to try an experiment in Madurai district to resume those lands which had been given to tyagis, as a temporary measure. I should certainly be in favour of resuming all the lands given to tyagis as veeramaniams. In my opinion, if there is one thing which has brought the Congress party into contempt, it is the grant of these veeramaniams. I think the Hon. Chief Minister started tackling this problem in the right direction, and I even anticipated at the time that he would resume all the lands even as the zamindars were deprived of their lands. If he is not going to take that bold step now, I do hope that he will at least not make a distinction so far as Madurai is concerned. I should not like that Madurai alone should be treated differently from other districts. People have spent so much money on those lands that it will be a great hardship on them if they alone are asked to give back those lands to the Government now.

" My second point is: I have brought to the notice of the Hon. Minister in charge of Public Works that people in the Cumbum valley have been suffering for a long number of years for want of drinking water. There has been a scheme and it has been there for the last twenty years and more but nothing appears to have been done in the matter. During summer men bathe and cattle are washed in the river bed from which water is being taken by the people for drinking purposes. And women have to go about two or three miles for bringing that water for use for cooking and drinking purposes. It is a great wonder that diseases

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have not completely taken a firm grip of the area. I again bring it to the notice of the Hon. Chief Minister and my friend the Minister for Finance that they should pay some attention to this very serious problem which requires an early solution.

“ Thirdly, Sir, I have been getting copies of four programmes of various officers, not only local officers, but provincial officers, and I believe that is the case with other hon. Members of this House and possibly Members of the Legislative Council. I see so much waste of paper and stationery and so much waste of stamps. In the case of stamps perhaps it may be said that it is only a book adjustment but in the case of stationery, Government have got to pay hard cash for it. My point is that if any particular hon. Member wants to see a particular officer, he can surely get the information from him. I would suggest to the Hon. Finance Minister that he should see that this practice is stopped immediately. Though the savings may not be big, savings effected in this manner would go a long way to remove at least a small portion of the big deficit in the State.

“ Another thing I would like to bring to the notice of the Hon. Finance Minister is this. We are being given first-class fare to Madras and back when we attend the Legislative Assembly meeting. (An hon. Member: ‘1½ fares.’) The idea seems to be that Members who travel for the Assembly meetings alone must be paid trainage. But I am sure Members of the Assembly have got so much work to do in connexion with their membership, in the headquarters of the State, and it would be better if a pass is issued to the Members to be used from their place of residence to the Madras City. Now, we have got to pay for such visits from our own pockets, and certainly we cannot ask the wretched man who goes to us for a favour to pay the train fares. After all, the railways are State-owned, and such being the case, it will be only in public interest and in the interests of economy if a pass is issued to the Members instead of money being paid to them in cash for their journeys.”

* DR. K. B. MENON :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I expected that my colleague, when he did not want to speak, would resign his time in his neighbour's favour. (Sri P. T. Rajan: ‘I am sorry; I would have done it willingly.’) 11-10 a.m.

“ Sir, I do not wish to subject the Budget to an autopsy for this is only an interim Budget and a detailed criticism of it may not be necessary. I cannot however help remarking that it sounds like a mendicant's Budget for the Finance Minister expects Central loans, Central gifts and public loans. Deficit budgeting is becoming a favourite with the Centre and with the States. I am afraid that the Finance Ministers are making a virtue of necessity.

“ I must thank the Finance Minister for publishing that small interesting booklet ‘The Budget Made Easy’. It certainly helps a layman to understand the Budget. I would go further and

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suggest that just as the Central Government did in the case of the Five-Year Plan, when the Local Government publish the Budget next they also should put out a popular edition and if a popular edition is not possible, I would suggest that the reorganization of the Budget is so effected that it is made easy for a layman to understand it. I wish to illustrate my point by citing that in the case of the Budget as presented to us, it is not possible for many of us to find out what exactly is spent on the staff of each department and what is ploughed back to the people in the shape of work. This kind of information may be helpful and I would like the Hon. Finance Minister to think about it.

“ Now, Sir, since I will not be here during the rest of the Budget session to offer my criticisms, I wish to avail of this opportunity to say what I have to say about the Assembly work in general. In the first place, I would like to review the work of the Assembly in the last one year. It is now one full year. When I evaluate the achievements of the Assembly—I am not evaluating the achievements of the Government but the achievements of the Assembly—I regret to say that though they have not been nil they have been but very little. We have met—I am talking on behalf of the Opposition—and when we have met we have vied with one another in crying hoarse about the needs of our own constituencies, about the mistakes of the Government, about the executive and various other matters in which the Government and the House are interested. It is certainly the duty of the House to control the Government, to criticise the executive, to ventilate the grievances of the people whom we are supposed to represent. In fact, we are the liaison between the constituencies and the Government. Now nothing has been done in order to see that the grievances that we ventilate on the floor of the Assembly are redressed. No member knows what is done, or whether anything is being done or not. I would like the Ministers to think about it and devise a way of doing it; to take note of what we say in the Assembly and communicate them to the officers in our constituencies and ask them to meet us and co-operate with us to see whether the grievances are real and whether they can be redressed. Of course, in some cases, they cannot satisfy our demands. I understand it. But, it is the duty of the Government, I believe, to satisfy us and give reasons to members why our suggestions could not be given effect to. I think that if such a kind of machinery is set up, it will help very much to improve the relations between the Opposition and the Ministerial benches. That is what I have to say in general.

“ Now, Sir, one word about the Question hour. Question hour is very exciting—a war of wits. There is no doubt about it, but it should be much more than a war of wits. The politicians and the Members are politicians—are weathercocks. The questions they put in the Assembly are not questions which they put to embarrass the Ministers but they are often put on the pressure of

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those whom they represent. Suggestions are made to Members and they put questions and the Ministers should remember that they should give without any reserve whatsoever answers to those questions. In this connexion, what comes uppermost in my mind, I shall cite just now. Just a few days ago the Hon. Minister for Health, when a question was raised about the selection of Medical students, gave the number—I am quoting from memory, I am not quite sure and I am saying subject to correction—as 160. He said that 160 candidates were chosen apart from Scheduled Castes and Backward communities. He did not tell how many among the 160 were Brahmans and how many were Non-Brahmans. The implication of the question is obvious. The question was not put by me but by some other hon. Member. As I said, the implication of the question was quite obvious. The Member concerned wanted to know how many were Brahmans and how many were Non-Brahmans.

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ Sir, I think the Hon. Minister for Health made it clear by saying, ‘We do not have separate figures for Brahmans and Non-Brahmans.’ ”

* DR. K. B. MENON :—“ May I give the information now, Sir, to the Hon. Minister? Out of 160, my information is that 106 were Brahmans and 54 were Non-Brahmans. My information may not be correct and I am subject to correction. This information was brought to me after the question was answered and that is why I am giving it. There is a feeling on this issue both in the House and outside and therefore, Sir, when questions of this nature are asked I wish and hope that Ministers would be very frank with the Members.

“ Now, Sir, I wish to proceed to the other subjects which I wish to discuss during the time at my disposal. An assurance was given on the floor of this Assembly that retired officials will not be brought back or re-employed. That was given in answer to a question. Since then two appointments have been made of two retired officials and both of which I regret to say, were very unfortunate. The Chief Engineer for Irrigation who conducted the Krishna Anicut Enquiry, an officer who was long ago retired, was one and the other one was the appointment of the Deputy Director of Public Health.”

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ Here also, I would like to correct the hon. Member. The assurance was given that no extensions will be given and even in cases where in public interest it is necessary to appoint such persons they will only be re-employed. There is difference between extension and re-employment. The assurance given was in respect of extension.”

* DR. K. B. MENON :—“ I accept the explanation given. But, still I would like to say what I wish to say on this subject. The appointment in connexion with the Anicut Enquiry was very unfortunate for another reason. The Chairman of the Enquiry Committee was the person who was appointed to take the place

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of the person who was asked to retire as a result of the enquiry. I think, from the democratic point of view it is a very bad precedent. I would not have mentioned this matter but for the fact that this is not an isolated instance. Some time ago an enquiry was conducted against an inefficient Conservator of Forests and the person who presided over that enquiry was again appointed in the place of the person who was asked to retire or was dismissed, I do not know. This kind of procedure, I believe, is very unfortunate. In the case of re-appointment of persons who have retired my only remark is that if the Government cannot tap new talent and the State is bankrupt we will have to resurrect ghosts from the grave in order to fill up vacancies of that type.

“ The next point I wish to go into is the selection of Assistant Surgeons. Several complaints have been made on the floor of this Assembly about the lack of doctors in rural dispensaries. It was made even by one of the speakers who preceded me. I am afraid that it is not exactly the lack of doctors, but the inability of the Government to make use of the doctors. Let me say a few words about the selection made by the Public Service Commission. In 1951 the Commission called for applications and then it was delayed on account of the Communal G.O. I am subject to correction about facts. In January 1952 they again called for applications, I believe for 300 candidates, and the Public Service Commission took complete two years to conduct the selection and it has now taken over six months for the Government to place those persons who were selected to fill their respective posts. That means it took two and a half years between the Government and the Public Service Commission for the appointment of a few Assistant Surgeons. My criticism about the Public Service Commission does not end there. In the recent selection of Assistant Surgeons, persons holding foreign degrees like M.R.C.S. were placed far below in rank to persons holding the L.M.P. Degree. An L.M.P. Degree-holder got the sixth place in the list, whereas a foreign degree-holder who, in addition possesses the M.B.B.S. Degree was assigned a rank so low as 39 or 40. If interview is all that counts, if service also counts, I know that persons who have put in ten years' service have come far below in the selection list. I accept that Public Service Commission is a sovereign body, with whose freedom there should be no interference. But if the freedom which it enjoys is abused, there is every reason for the Government to interfere and set things right. Is it any wonder that the public and the candidates suspect favouritism and influence when selections of this kind are made? That is the question which I would like to ask the Public Service Commission and the Government.

“ When I am on the subject of doctors, I would like to say just a word or two about an incident which occurred in Kozhikode. I do not wish to go into the details for particular reasons, may be personal reasons. The subject has been brought to the notice of the Minister concerned and the Chief Minister. I can

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understand their consideration for a retiring District Medical Officer. The very fact that he is on the verge of retirement should make him be a little more careful. But I cannot understand how a medical officer can be allowed to flout public opinion, challenge the authorities and do anything as he likes because he is about to retire. Recently in Kozhikode he dubbed a rickshawwalla, a lunatic, because he was a little rude to him in his talk, and got him detained in the lunatic asylum. He was let out after twenty days, and this poor man's family suffered in the mean time. There was a complete mess, and that mess is still continuing. I am hoping that the Minister concerned or the Chief Minister will look into the matter and take positive action.

" I come to another very important subject. The two greatest evils that our infant democracy is facing are extreme centralization and a top-heavy administration. About centralization, I shall not speak because this Assembly is not the proper forum for it. But I do wish to speak about top-heavy administration with regard to our own State. I said the other day that economy and efficiency would help us to get rid of this top-heavy administration, economy in the way of weeding out departments which were useless and officers who were not doing their job. I pointed out in my last talk in the Assembly about the Dairy Development Department of which, I suppose, the Minister has taken due note. Another department to which I would like to refer in this connexion is the Senior Translator's office. This office is an old department which has grown under the shade of security, because it is not observed by the public. It is not a small department, it is a very big department. There is a Senior Translator and under him there are five Translators, one each for the four languages of the South and the other for Urdu. These are all gazetted officers with junior translators and a huge staff. I beg to submit that the Senior Translator spends most of his time at home. Probably he believes in doing work at home. The work of that department, I should say, is very, very lax. Whatever they have promised, they have not done. The department was expected to produce translations of the Constitution. But no translation has come out yet, though non-official sources have published four editions of translations of the Constitution so far. The department has been sitting quiet. If my information is correct, the quality of the translation done by this department is very poor. I suggest to the Government to enquire into the working of the department.

" Next I would like to draw the attention of the Minister for Co-operation to the recent appointments made in Malabar of four Special Deputy Tahsildars and nine Special Revenue Inspectors to check the stock in the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies. My submission is that the societies themselves are over-staffed. There are two District Supply Officers, a Taluk Supply Officer for each taluk, a Grain Purchasing Officer and an Inspector and apart from these, each society has got two Co-operative Inspectors. With such a huge staff and after the conversion of

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ration shops into fair price shops, I see absolutely no reason why there should be any new appointments. I hope the Government will enquire into the matter and see whether there is enough work for the officers or retrenchment of staff can be effected.

"Then, I come to another item about which probably many of the Members do not know and that is Contingencies. Certainly I did not know until information was brought to me. I wish to say that gazetted officers are the privileged officers in the State. They have got privileges to which they do not seem to have any claim. The privileges are heaped upon them probably because these gazetted officers vote them to themselves. Each gazetted officer is given a house peon. There are over one thousand gazetted officers, which means there are over one thousand house peons. The words 'house' and 'peon' are contradictory and they do not go together. Perhaps 'peon' is only a polite expression for a servant. The term 'house peon' is degrading. These gazetted officers are also given chairs, tables and other furniture. I suppose that apart from double cot, they are provided with everything else."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"The furniture is given for doing office work."

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a.m.

* DR. K. B. MENON:—"But it is kept in the home. Apart from this, every gazetted officer gets a cycle which is maintained at State expense. Each gazetted officer gets towels and soaps. I can understand if cycles are given to non-gazetted officers, because their salaries are low. If every non-gazetted officer is to be given a cycle, I welcome that proposal. He can go to the office on cycle. But I do not see any reason why a gazetted officer should be given this kind of privilege by the Government. This is an item in which economy can be effected, and I wish to invite the attention of the Hon. Minister to this."

"Before I conclude I must say just one word about education in which I am very much interested, and about which I pleaded last year. Last year I pleaded for the nationalization of elementary education, and I placed before the House some of the problems that Malabar was facing. I am very glad that the Hon. Minister took note of it, and enquired into it when he visited Malabar. I am very thankful to him for that. I would like to place before him a few facts that have come to my knowledge as a result of my study of the problem. I certainly still think that nationalization of elementary education is possible. The Government to-day are giving the salary to every teacher and giving 15 per cent as allowance for management. The number of schools, according to the statement of the Hon. the Minister for Education, is far in excess of the need in the State. In my own constituency, I have discovered that in every village there are three or four schools, and they are all situated within a distance of about a furlong, two furlongs or sometimes half a mile. It is not necessary to have so many schools so close together. The salaries given to the aided

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school teachers and the allowances given to the management are dependent upon the attendance at the schools. In most schools, false attendance figures are given. I visited one school and found that the number marked present was 191. But when I actually counted the number, it was only 83. My submission, therefore, is that there must be some fraud in making up the attendance. The number of schools can be cut at least by one-third, and expenditure to that extent can be saved by the Government. If the Government save that much of expenditure, it is possible to nationalize elementary education. If the Government have not the courage to nationalize elementary education throughout the State, I suggest to the Government that they take one district as an experiment. If I am permitted to make a recommendation, I would recommend Malabar, because the Government say there are more schools there than in other parts of the State. Literacy is fairly high there. They may try nationalization of elementary education in Malabar and see whether the money that is spent by the Government to-day on elementary education is not sufficient to meet the expenses that would become necessary when elementary education is nationalized, throughout the State.

" I submit to the Government that adult education centres are a huge fraud. I have paid surprise visits to adult education centres. I saw in those places no light, no teacher and no students! (Laughter.) But still the allowance is drawn. There should be a close check-up of these adult education centres. Considerable economy can be effected by taking into consideration the suggestions I have made. Thank you, Sir."

* SRI R. LAKSHMI NARASIMHAM DORA :—" Sir, this budget has caused no little disappointment to the people of Srikakulam district. While framing the budget, it does not appear that the existence of a district like Srikakulam has been recognized by the Government at all. We come in only for payment of taxes and not for getting any substantial measures of relief. This Srikakulam district was formed only two years back, and in forming this district, none of the amenities which are necessary for a district have been provided for that district till now. In the budget of 1952-53, a token grant was taken by the Government for providing buildings for the various offices which were newly created in the district. But to our great surprise, in the revised estimate for the current year as well as in the budget estimate for 1953-54, no grant has been taken. Many of the offices including part of the Collectorate, the Police office and other offices are functioning from outside the district thereby causing great inconvenience to the public. Very many representations have been made to Government on this subject, but no attention seems to have been paid till now to those representations. The population of the district, its extent, and its resources are not inferior to those in other districts of the State. Yet it is regrettable that no attention has been paid to our representations. The newly constituted district should have received

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the fostering care of the Government to bring it to the level of the other districts in the State, but to our disappointment nothing of the kind is even contemplated in the budget. Our district has many natural resources. There are several rivers of varying sizes, big and small, but all the waters are going to waste, and we are facing famines very often. We have made several representations to the Hon. the Minister for Public Works when he visited our district. The Minister visited all districts in the rainy season, and he probably thought that there was abundant supply of water in our district. If he now goes to our district and sees some of our taluks, he will see how acutely famine is raging there and what miseries the people are suffering from. No attention appears to have been paid to our representations. We feel that we are only to pay taxes and not expect any relief. We carried on a long agitation for a number of years for opening a college in our district. It is also the policy of the Government to have one college in every district. One second grade college has been started after long agitation. After having extracted Rs. 1 lakh from the people, we are pained to see that no provision is made to improve that college, that is, either to make it a first grade college or to provide buildings for it. It is functioning in a place provided by us.

" Sir, the Rent Reduction Act and the Estates Abolition Act were supposed to bring relief to the people. But to our great misfortune, they are working a hardship on our people. Our district is mainly a zamindari area, and large extents of land are kind-rented land. Every ryot is levied Rs. 14 per acre and adding local taxes, the levy comes to Rs. 18 per acre—a tax hardship which no ryot can bear. The idea of the Rent Reduction Act and the Estates Abolition Act was to bring relief to the ryots; instead of that our ryots are groaning under heavy taxation. I have to submit that assessment is not being properly made. This business of assessment is delegated to the village officers, and these village officers have been assessing taxes according to their sweet will and pleasure. There is nobody to check their assessments. So many representations have been made to Government and till now nothing has been done in that direction. People are harassed and their cattle, movables and little belongings are being attached. The ryots have been suffering from the evils of the zamindari system for over a century. Instead of conferring any benefit upon these ryots, the Act is working a hardship on them. Particularly, the ryots in the taluk of Tekkali which I represent are victims to this. This year no crop was realized due to the failure of rains and the ryots there are finished. I myself made some representations to the Hon. Minister concerned and he said that he would look into the matter. But he does not seem to have looked into it even to-day. There are several petitions before the Collector complaining of the incorrect assessment as their holdings were assessed on grain-rented lands basis though they were cash-rented lands. Wrong extents for the holdings are shown in the revenue accounts and assessment was made accordingly. The result is that the ryot is asked to pay in

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several cases ten times what was paid previously. This is no relief. The Act was intended for the benefit of the ryots but the relief is not given.

“ Sir, the Budget is disappointing not only to us but to all the famine-stricken people of the State. From the beginning to the end, we see nothing but reference to officers, establishment, pay, contingencies and allowances. A layman like myself will be distressed to see nothing but reference to these officers and their pay. It will be asked by the people, ‘ Is it only for feeding this army of officers that we are paying Rs. 65 crores? ’ It is a fact that every year we have been faced with famine in some part of the country or other. But, what is it that the Government have provided for against such a famine excepting giving gruel and loans? They are only palliatives, as some hon. Members have put it, but they do not insure against recurrence of famine. It may not be possible, I submit, in a day or a year to free us from the visitations of famine. Have the good Government put us on the way to see that in the course of at least a few years’ time we are rid of this famine? Nothing of the kind has been done.

“ Then, Sir, there are a number of schemes for investigation and execution. For instance, in my district, some schemes have been investigated and the investigation of the others has been stopped on the ground that there is shortage of revenue. At least if some investigation is made and estimates are ready, at any time when there are funds available, the Government may take them up for execution. In our district, there are a number of tanks situated in the zamindari areas. The engineering division which was even unable to cope with the former normal work is now faced with the work of estimating repairs to several thousands of tanks. Is it possible for them to do so? There is a bitter feeling that the repairs to these tanks are being neglected even after the Government have taken over the estates, as it was done while under the zamindari system. As one of my hon. Friends put it, what is the justification for taxing these poor tenants who were cultivating the lands under these tanks? I say they have every reason to refuse to pay the taxes if the Government fail to maintain them. If repairs are not attended to, what will be the fate of these poor tenants? Every year we are facing famine and nothing has been done to prevent the recurrence of it. Thousands of people are languishing especially in the coastal taluks. There is no food or water or employment. There is nobody to care for them. In a democracy, even without anybody’s complaining, it is the duty of the Government to provide the people with at least their elementary needs. That, this Government have not done.”

* SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—“ఉపాధ్యక్షా, నేను ఈదినము ప్రత్యేకముగా ఈ సమావేశములూ ఈ బడ్జెటు విషయములూ మాట్లాడాలి అని అనుకోలేదు. కాని నిన్న టిడిసిము మన ముఖ్యమంత్రి రాజగోపాలాచార్యులవారు చేసిన కొన్ని విషయముల మీద ప్రత్యేకముగా మాట్లాడవలసిన అవసరం వచ్చింది. బడ్జెటు సమావేశముతో మన

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రాష్ట్రముయొక్క ఆర్థిక సమస్యలను గురించి గాక మనము ఇతర సమస్యలను ఎక్కువగా మాట్లాడినామని, ఈ బడ్జెటు సమావేశములో కేంద్రీకరించవలసిన ఆర్థిక సమస్యల మీద గాక ముఖ్యముగా ఆంధ్ర సభ్యులు ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రంగురించే ఎక్కువగా మాట్లాడారు అని చెప్పేరు. నిజమే ఈ నాడు బడ్జెటుకు మన ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రానికి ఉన్న సంబంధము ఏమిటో బడ్జెటును ప్రతిపాదించిన ఆర్థిక మంత్రి ప్రశ్నాసమే మనకు తెలుపుతూఉంది. ఈ బడ్జెటుతో ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర సమస్యకూడా చర్చించవలసిన ప్రత్యేకత ఏర్పడింది. ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రంగురించి మాట్లాడిన సందర్భములో ఆర్థికముగా ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రానికి కల్గిన కొన్ని నష్టాలను గురించి చర్చించవలసిన అవసరం ఏర్పడింది. అందువల్లనే బడ్జెటు చర్చలలో ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రంగురించి ఎక్కువగా చర్చించవలసి వచ్చింది.

“ఈ నాలుగు రోజులుగా ఆంధ్రులు వెసిన ప్రశ్నలకు వారు జవాబు చెప్పక తప్పదు. ఆయన అంటున్నారు తెలిసి అన్యాయం చేస్తున్నాను అని intentional గా చేస్తున్నానని అంటున్నారు. కాని ఒకరి intention ఏమిటో చెప్పడం అసాధ్యం. Intention యే మోతాదులో ప్రశ్నకో కొలవడానికి thermometers లేవు. అయితే వారి చర్యలను బట్టి, results ను బట్టి మనము తెలుసుకోవలసి ఉంటుంది. ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రంగురించి వారు చేసిన నిర్ణయాలు చాలా అనుమానాస్పదముగా ఉన్నవి అని ఆంధ్ర సభ్యులు ఇంత కలుపుగా చెప్పవలసి వచ్చింది. ఇప్పుడు ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రంగురించి 11 జిల్లాల రి తాలూకాలతో ఏర్పడనున్నది. అటువంటిప్పుడు బల్లారి జిల్లాలో మిగిలిన తాలూకాలు రిసీప్యూయర్ రాష్ట్రంలో చూపించినప్పుడు తుంగభద్ర ప్రాజెక్టు ఖర్చు అంతా ఆంధ్ర రెవెన్యూలో చూపించి irrigation విషయములో ఎక్కువగా ఖర్చు చేస్తున్నామని ఎందుకు చూపవలసివచ్చింది? ఈ విధముగా irrigation capital outlay లో ఆంధ్రకు జరిగిన అన్యాయం మధ్యపెట్టడం ఎందుకు జరిగింది. ఆంధ్రులైన రంగం రెడ్డిగారు కూడా జవాబు చెప్పకపోవడం చాలా విచిత్రమైన విషయము.

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a.m. “కమ్యూనిస్టు సభ్యులమైన మేము dressing down చేసికొన్నామని, ఆంధ్రులందరిలో కలసి ఒక ఐకమత్యాన్ని నిర్మించుకొన్నామని చెప్పేరు. ఆంధ్రుల మంచికే రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ప్రయత్నం చేస్తున్నానని అన్నారు. నేను వారిని అభినందించక తప్పదు. కాంగ్రెసు సభ్యులు ఐకమత్యంలో నాయకుని ఎన్నుకోవడానికి పరోక్షంగా రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు తోడ్పడ్డారు. రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు, ముత్తయ్య చెట్టిగారు భాగస్వాములైనందువల్లనే ఆంధ్ర దేశములో మొట్టమొదటి సారిగా నాయకుని ఎన్నుకోవడంలో ఐకమత్యం కలిగింది. ఇందుకు వారిని అభినందించవలసి వస్తుంది.

“ఎందుకుగాను ఆచార్యులుగారిమీద ఆంధ్ర సభ్యులు విరుచుకు పడ్డారంటే వారు గత బడ్జెటు session లోనే చెప్పిన మాటలు జ్ఞాపకము ఉంచుకోవాలి. ఆంధ్ర దేశంలో విద్యుత్తుకి అభివృద్ధి కాలేదందుకు అని ప్రశ్నలు కురిపించినప్పుడు ఆంధ్రలో నదులకు తలుపు లేవు కాబట్టి విద్యుత్తుకి అభివృద్ధి కావడానికి అవకాశంలేదు అని అనాడు రాజగోపాలాచార్యులవారు చెప్పేరు. అది యదార్థమైన విషయంకాదు. ఆంధ్రలో మహానదీ తంగా, బ్రహ్మండుగా విద్యుత్తుకి ప్రత్తితి కాగలదని ఈనాడు మనకు తెలుసు. నందికొండ, సిద్దేశ్వరం, తుంగభద్రలవద్ద hydro electric scheme ద్వారా దక్షిణాది కన్న మెక్కువగా విద్యుత్తుకి ప్రత్తితి కాగలదని ఈనాడు technical committee అభిప్రాయం కాదా? అయినప్పుడు ఈవిధంగా ముఖ్యమంత్రిగారు మాట్లాడడం ఆంధ్రులను రెచ్చకొట్టడానికి అన్నమాట కాదా? ఆచార్యులవారు ప్రధానమంత్రిగాఉండి చెప్పవలసిన మాటకాదు. తమ ఉపన్యాసములో “Rivers have

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no heads" అని అన్నారు. "మొన్న కొన్నింటిలో మాట్లాడుతూ ఆంధ్రులందరు సిగ్గుపడవలసిన మాట అని పొట్టి శ్రీరాములుగారు చనిపోయిన ఆనంతరం జరిగిన సంఘటనల గురించి అనవసరంగా ప్రస్తావిస్తూ అన్నారు. గాని ఆంధ్రులు సిగ్గుపడవలసినది ఏమీ లేదని చెప్పుతున్నాను. ఆటవిక సిద్ధాంతమును చేతులో పెట్టుకొని ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రము రాకుండా ప్రయత్నములు చేస్తున్నప్పుడు ఆంధ్రులందరూ కూడా తిరగబడి వారి రాష్ట్రమును సంపాదించుకున్నారు. ఇవి ఆంధ్ర చరిత్రలో సువర్ణాక్షరములతో వ్రాయబడుతుందని నేను చెబుతున్నాను. అసలు ప్రజల సామర్థ్యముమీద, పోరాటములో నమ్మకములేని ఆచార్యులవంటివారు సిగ్గుచేటు అని చెప్పినపుడు అది సరికాదని చెప్పడం జరిగింది.

"కమ్యూనిస్టులు తాము వచ్చిన విధానమునే మరుగు పరుస్తున్నారని రాజగోపాలాచార్యులు చెప్పడం జరిగింది. మేము ఆ సెంట్రీలోను కొన్నింటిలోనూ మా ఉద్దేశములను బయటపెట్టేము. జాతీయ దురహంకారాన్ని ప్రోత్సహిస్తూ ప్రచారం చేస్తున్నది కమ్యూనిస్టులు కాదు. రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఆ వాద్యతను తన వైపునుంచి తాగా నిరసించారు. చిన్నటి రోజున చెప్పారు తిరుపతి ఆంధ్ర దేశానికి సంబంధించినదని. దీనిని ఇన్ని రోజులవరకు ఎందుకు చెప్పలేదు? ఆ మాదిరిగా ఇదివరకే చెప్పిఉంటే ఈ వివాదములు అన్నీ వచ్చి ఉండేవికావు కదా? మద్రాసు విషయమై నీతను పంచుకున్నట్లు ఉంటుందని చెప్పినవారు, 11 జిల్లాలు 3 తాలూకాలు ఆంధ్ర ప్రాంతానికి చెప్పలేదు ఎందుకు? ఇది ఒక ప్రధాన మంత్రి చెయ్యవలసిన పని కాదని కమ్యూనిస్టులమైన మేము చెప్పాము. మేము న్యాయానికి అనుకొన్న దాన్ని, ఖచ్చితముగా, నిర్దోగముగా మేము మా నాయకులకు ప్రజలకు కూడా చెప్పేము. నిలకడలేని విధంగా ప్రధాన మంత్రిగారే మాట్లాడుచున్నారు. వారు సదుద్దేశముతో చేశారా లేదా అన్నది కాదు సమస్య. ఉద్దేశము ఏమైనా రిజల్టు ఒకటే కదా! చిన్నవారము అయినా మేము, మా పార్టీ ప్రజల ముందు చెప్పలేదు కను విషయాలను సూటిగా చెబుతాము. అంతేగాని అప్పుడొకమాట తరువాత ఇంకో మాట చెప్పడం న్యాయముకాదని వారు జ్ఞాపకము ఉంచుకొనవలెను.

"రాయలసీమ ప్రాజెక్టుల విషయము గాని దుమారము లేని సంగతి నిజమే. క్రీష్ణా-వెన్నార ప్రాజెక్టులో తుంగభద్ర హై రెవెలు ఛానలు లేదు. గండికోట ప్రాజెక్టు సంగతి తలపెట్టినే లేదు. ఖోస్లా కమిటీ రిపోర్టు విషయమై ఈ సభలో జరిగిన చర్చల విషయం చూస్తే ఆంధ్రులందరికీ చాలా అన్యాయం జరుగున్నదనే భయం భుత్వమైనది. మొదలు ఆ రిపోర్ట్ రాలేదన్నారు. ఆ తర్వాత వచ్చినా చదవలేదన్నారు. ఆంధ్రులందరిని కలవరపెడుతున్న ఈ సమస్యమీద ప్రభుత్వం అవలంబించిన విధానానికి ప్రజల్లో అసంతృప్తి ప్రబలింది. ఇప్పుడిప్పుడు దంగా రెడ్డిగారు గండికోట high level channel (హై రెవెలు ఛానలు) కావలసిన అంటున్నారు. వెనుకబడిన ప్రాంతాలను అభివృద్ధి పరచడానికి ఈ ప్రభుత్వం preferential treatment యివ్వాలని మేము సూచించాము. ఏమీ చర్యలు తీసుకుంటున్నదని మేము ప్రశ్నించాము. ఈనాటివరకు జవాబులేదు. ఖోస్లా కమిటీ రిపోర్టు వచ్చిన తరువాత కూడా దానికి గండికోట ప్రాజెక్టుకూడా కలిపి అమలు జరపడానికి బదులు కృష్ణా-వెన్నార ప్రాజెక్టు అమలు జరపాలనే తాపత్రంతో రాయలసీమకు నీరు లేకుండా చెయ్యడానికి ఇంకా రంగా రెడ్డిగారు ప్రయత్నిస్తున్నారా? అని అడుగుతున్నాను. దానిని రాయలసీమ ప్రజలు కృతరీకేస్తారని చెబుతున్నాను. నేను (high level channel) హై రెవెలు ఛానలు 70,000 ఎకరాలకు మాత్రమే నీళ్లు పారుతవి అని చెప్పడం న్యాయమా?"

[21st March 1953]

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“ I would like to correct the hon. Gentleman. I never said that the high level channel would irrigate only 75,000 acres. It would irrigate 2 lakhs acres. In spite of telling that, the hon. Member is persisting in saying that.”

*** SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—**“ హై రెవెలు చానలు గుంటకల్లు వరకు వస్తుందని చెబుతున్నారు. అది కాదని correct చేసుకుంటే నాకు అభ్యంతరం లేదు. ఈ హై రెవెలు చానలు పెన్నా నదిలో కలిసి సాగు అధికంచేయడానికి ప్రయత్నం చేస్తే మేముతా సంతోషిస్తాము. గండికోట ప్రాజెక్టు సంగతి లీసుకుందా గత అసెంబ్లీ సమావేశంలో ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు సంగతి మంత్రిగారిని ప్రశ్నిస్తే అది నిరుపయోగం అని వారు చెప్పినవారు కాదా? కృష్ణా-పెన్నా స్కీమును అమలు జరపాలనే తాత్పర్యంతో గండికోటకు రంగారెడ్డిగారు అప్పుడు వ్యతిరేకులు. ఈనాడు గండికోట ప్రాజెక్టు విషయం లెనుకొనిరావడం ఏమీ న్యాయమని అడుగుతున్నాను. ఈ రోజున రంగారెడ్డిగారు దానిని ఎందుకు ఉపయోగించుకోవలసి వచ్చిందంటున్నాను. కమ్యూనిస్టులు ప్రభుత్వం నుండి గండికోట, సిద్ధేశ్వరంలో కూడిన నందిగొండ ప్రాజెక్టు కావాలని కోరుతున్నాం. హై రెవెల్ కాలువ ద్వారా తుంగభద్రా ప్రాజెక్టును విస్తరింప జేయమని కోరుతున్నాం. టేము ప్రాంతాలకు preference ఇచ్చి ఈ ప్రాజెక్టులను ముందుగా లీసికొమ్మని ఘోషించాము. కాని మంత్రివర్గములో ఉండి ఆంధ్ర మంత్రిగారు రంగారెడ్డిగారు దేనికి కూడా ఉపయోగపడలేదని ఆంధ్ర సభ్యులందరూ ఆనవలసివస్తుంది.

“ 1952-53 బడ్జెటులో కొన్ని విషయాలున్నవి. మాచిఖింద్ ప్రాజెక్టుకు రెండు కోట్ల ఆరవై లక్షల రూపాయలు ఎస్టిమేట్లు వేసి, ఇప్పుడు రివైజ్డ్ estimates లో రెండు కోట్ల పదహారు లక్షలకు తగ్గియింది. పాపనాశం scheme కు estimates 23, 42 వేల రూపాయలకే revised estimate లో 5,308 వేలకు హెచ్చించారు. మద్రాసు స్కీముకు ఎస్టిమేట్లు 19,333 వేలు అయితే revised estimates 51,70 వేలకు పెంచారు. మద్రాసు, పాపనాశం వనరులకు ఖర్చులు పెంచడం గురించి శ్రుత్తులు అడిగినప్పుడు సమాధానము చెప్పకుండా ఎస్టిమేటులు ఒకవాగు అక్కాంటులు ఇంకోలాగునూ చూపిస్తున్నారు. ఆంధ్రులకు జరగవలసిన న్యాయము జరగలేదని చెప్పవలసి ఉంది. ఆంధ్ర కమ్యూనిస్టులమైన మేము ఈనాడు చెప్పేది విమిటంటే మనము ఖచ్చితమైన అభిప్రాయంతో విడిపోతున్నప్పుడు అవసరముగా రెచ్చగొట్టడం న్యాయంకాదు. ఈ నాటికైనా తుంగభద్రా ప్రాజెక్టు మా ముఖానవేసి మాకు న్యాయం జరిగిందని నిరూపించ ప్రయత్నించడానికి బదులు జరిగిన అన్యాయం జరిగిందని ఒప్పుకుని ఈనాడు మహుద్భావముతో విడిపోవడం న్యాయమని చెబుతున్నాను.”

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aon.

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—“ ఉపాధ్యక్ష, ఈ బడ్జెటును గురించి నేను చెప్పాలనుకుంటే, రాష్ట్ర విభజన జరగబోతున్నదనే ఆలోచనచేత, దీన్ని ఏ ఆరుమాసాలకో తగినట్లుగా బడ్జెటు తయారుచేసియున్నారు. దీనిలోని వివరాలు చూడగా రెండు రాష్ట్రాలకు ఉండబోయేటటువంటి శాసన సభ్యులు, ప్రభుత్వాలు, పరిపాలనకుగాను తయారు చేయాలనే ఆలోచనతో చాలా తరీఫీదుగా తయారు చేయబడినటువంటి బడ్జెటు అని చెప్పవలసియున్నది. కాని ఇందులో ఏవో కొన్ని రెక్కలు మాత్రం శాసన సభకు అందజేయాలనే ఉద్దేశ్యముతో వారికి ఉంటున్న సంగతి సందర్భాలను బట్టి అవసరమైన సంఖ్యలను తయారుచేసి తెచ్చినటువంటి బడ్జెటు అని అంటున్నాను. ఈ బడ్జెటును గురించి రూబ్బకు తృప్తికరంగా చర్చించేందుకు అవకాశము లేదు.

21st March 1953]

[Sri G. Latchanna]

అయినప్పటికీ ప్రస్తుతపు పరిస్థితులను బట్టి యీ బడ్జెటు సమావేశ సందర్భములో గవర్నరుగారు యిచ్చిన ఉపన్యాసమును బట్టి ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర నిర్మాణ సమస్య పట్ల పదే పదే సభ్యులు అందరూ, residuary మద్రాసుకు చెందినవారు అయితేనేమి, ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రమునకు చెందినవారు అయితేనేమి, చాలా తీర్మానాలు చేశాము. ఈ తీర్మానాలన్నిటిని యీ శాసన సభలో ముఖ్య మంత్రిగారు వివరించేటప్పుడు మద్రాసులోంటి ముఖ్య పట్టణం మనము ఎందుకు అడగకూడదు అనే విషయాన్ని గురించి వారు ఆనేక ఆలోచనలు, ఆపోహలు పడుతున్నారు. ఈ ధోరణిలో కొన్ని వివరాలు తెలియ జేసేందుకు, వారికి కాంగ్రెసు తెలియజేసినటువంటి ఒక విషయాన్ని మాత్రం చెప్పాలి. ఇది లీవమైనటువంటి ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర నిర్మాణ సమస్య. ఈ సమస్య పరిష్కారానికిగాను ఆంధ్రులు చాలామంది ఆవిధేయతను చూపించారని తమిళులు గాకుండా, యితర రాష్ట్రాలవారుగాని, అఖిల భారత పెద్దలుగాని, ఢిల్లీ ప్రభుత్వాధికారులుగాని ఎవరైన చెప్పితే, దానికి బాధ్యత వారే అని చెప్పక తప్పదు. ఈ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర సమస్యకు సుమారు నలభై విండ్ల చరిత్ర ఉన్నది. ఈ నలభై విండ్లనుంచి సాగుతున్న ఈ ఉద్యమాన్ని ఆంధ్ర ప్రజలు చేబూని, వారి యొక్క న్యాయమైన కోర్కెను సాధించుటకు వారు అటువంటి ధిక్కారాలకు దిగి, ఆ పరిస్థితికి రావటానికి బాధ్యత ఎవరు అని గుర్తించాలి. ఈ సమస్య పరిష్కారము సుహృద్భావంతో చేసియుండినట్లైతే, రాష్ట్ర విభజన యీ సాటికి అయిత్రుండేదని చెప్పక తప్పదు. ఆంధ్రులు న్యాయమైన కోర్కెనే కోరుతున్నారన్న సంగతి ప్రభుత్వం గుర్తించక నిరాకరించుచున్నారు. ఈ విభజన సమస్యను సుమారు పది సంవత్సరములనుండి ప్రభుత్వము కప్పిపుచ్చి యీ నాడు రాష్ట్రము యిస్తామని కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వము బయలుపెట్టింది. ప్రభుత్వము ఆంధ్రులయొక్క రాష్ట్ర నిర్మాణ వాంఛ తీర్చిపోవటమువల్లనే, ప్రజలు యీ తిరస్కారానికి కారణమని చెప్పక తప్పదు. బ్రిటిషు గవర్నరు మెంటువారి హయాములోనే ఆంధ్రుల యీ కోర్కెను కొనసాగించుటకు ప్రయత్నించిరి గాని, అనాడు ఏ కారణము వల్లనో అది ఫలించలేదు. అందుచేత యీ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర నిర్మాణ సమస్యను గురించి పదేపదే ఆంధ్రులు ఆందోళన సాగించడమువల్ల చిరకు యీనాడు విడిపోతున్నారు. ఇది అంత విచారకరమైన విషయముకాదు. ఉడచరణకు ఒక సమిష్టి కుటుంబములూ నలుగురు భాగస్వాములప్పుడు, అన్నీ పంపకము వచ్చేసరికి, ఎంతో సుహృద్భావముతో పంచుకొంటేనే, ఒకరి శ్రేయస్సు ఒకరు కోరినవారగుదురు. అలాగే మనము యీ భారత దేశములో ఎంతో కాలంగా ఒక నిర్వాణాత్మకమైన ఒక joint family గా, అనుభవించుకొంటూ వచ్చాము. అటువంటిది యీ రోజు మనము వేరుపడేతున్నామంటే, అది విచారించవలసిన పని ఏమాత్రం కాదు. ఈ విభజనగూడా మన ఎంత సుహృద్భావముతోను, సన్నహిత సహకారంగా రాష్ట్రమును విభజించుకొంటే, ఉభయయులకు అంత నుంచిదని అంటున్నాను. కలతలు లేకుండా ఉంటేనే, ఉభయయులకు శ్రేయస్కరము అని అంటున్నాను. విభజన అనగానే మనము రెండు కుటుంబాల వారపురాము. ఆ కారణంగా మనమధ్య యీర్ష్యను కలిగించటానికి ప్రయత్నించు తున్నారంటే ఒకటిమీద ఒకరు ఆపోహలు పడడమనేది నుంచినకాదు. కాని యీ రోజున నేను రెవిన్యూ మంత్రిగారితో నేను మాట్లాడేటప్పుడు వారు చాలా ఆయిష్టము సూచించెడు మనస్సుతో శేలికగా, తియ్యని మాటలతో మీకు ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం వస్తుందని'' ఊహనగా అనటంవల్ల, మన యొక్క యీర్ష్యా భావాలను పెంచుకోవడమేతప్ప మరేదొక్కటికాదు. నిజంగా యీ విభజన అయినప్పటి నుంచి, ఉభయయుల మధ్య సుహృద్భావాన్ని, స్నేహాన్ని పరస్పర సహకారాన్ని అనేటటువంటివి ముఖ్యముగా పెంపొందింప జేసుకోవాలి. ఈర్ష్యలు పెంచుకోవటం నుంచినకాదు. భారత

[Sri G. Latchanna]

[21st March 1953]

దేశంలో ప్రతి ప్రభుత్వంయొక్క అభ్యర్థంకేంద్ర మన కోర్కెను సాధించుకోవాలి కే కేంద్రం తే నేగాని విలులేదు. మనకు ఏ తని అయినను తలపెట్టలే, అది సాధించు కొనుటకు, ఎక్కడ ప్రయత్నాలు చేయాలి. నేను ముఖ్యముగా కోరేది విమిటంటే, ఆంధ్రులకు, తమిళులకు మధ్య అనుకూలమైన వాతావరణం, శాంతి దృక్పథాన్ని కలుగజేయాలి. అప్పుడే యీ రెండు రాష్ట్రాలు వృద్ధికి వచ్చుటకు తగుమైన వీరు కలుగజేసుకొన గలుగుదుము. అంతేగాని, మనసులో ఒకటి పెట్టుకొని, చెప్పేది ఒకటిగాను, చేసేది మరొకటిగాను ఉంటే, లాభముండదు. ఉభయాల మధ్య సన్నిహిత సంబంధాలు పెంపొందించుకోవాలి. ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర సిద్ధికొరకు ఆంధ్రులకు కలిగిన కష్టనష్టాలను ప్రభుత్వం గుర్తించాలి. న్యాయమేది, ప్రతి ప్రభుత్వము మధ్యను చాలా అవిసరమని గుర్తించాలి. యీ బడ్జెటును ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రము విర్వడనున్నదనే కారణంచేత ఆరు మాసములకే ఆనగా అక్కోబరు వరకే యీ నిధిలో పెట్టియున్నారు. ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర విషయములో అనవసర ప్రసంగాలు రాకుండా చూడాలని కోరుతున్నాను. ఇందులో పార్టీ విభేదాలు ఉండకూడదని అంటున్నాను. తర్వాత మనయొక్క ప్రభుత్వ పాలసీమీద నేనొక విషయము చెప్పదలచాను. మన ప్రభుత్వ పరిపాలనలో అనేక చరిత్రలు ఉన్నవి. నాకు యిచ్చిన టైము ఇరవైమూడు నిమిషములే కాబట్టి, అలావున నేను ఎక్కడ విషయాలనుగురించి మాట్లాడదలచినప్పటికీ, టైము చాలనందున స్వల్పముగా ముగిస్తాను.

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p.m.

“ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర సమస్యను పరిష్కరించుకొని, ఏర్పాటు చేసుకొనే సమయము వచ్చినప్పటికీ, కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వము చేసిన ప్రకటనవల్ల ఎక్కడో స్క్రీములుగాని, యితర పనులుగాని, అక్కడనే స్థంభింపబడ్డాయి. దీనికి కారణము తెలియడంలేదు. ఇరిగేషన్ చెరువులు మరమ్మతులు వగైరా నిలిచిపోయినవి. Water supply-schemes కేంద్ర పునరుద్ధరణకు నూతులు అన్ని నూడా గోతులుగా ఉండిపోయినవి. Electricity Scheme కు సంబంధించిన పనులునూడా ఆపుచేయబడ్డవి. ఈ విషయంలో అధికారులతో సంప్రదించి యీ స్క్రీములు ఆపుజేయకుండా wire orders పంపాలని ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరుతున్నాను. స్క్రీములు అమలులో పెట్టుకుంటే డబ్బులేదంటారు. డబ్బుచూపించితే, మీకు రాష్ట్రము వస్తున్నది గదా, రాష్ట్రము వచ్చిన వెనుక ఆ పనులు అన్నియు అప్పుడే చేయించుకోవచ్చును అని ప్రభుత్వమువారు అంటారు. ప్రభుత్వం యీ విషయములో ఆలోచించి, రాష్ట్రము వచ్చేటంతవరకు ఆగకుండా యీ స్క్రీములు ఆపుచేయకుండా ప్రజల కష్టాలను నివృత్తి చేయుటకు ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరుతున్నాను. పోతే, Rural water-supply schemes విషయములో ప్రభుత్వము శాంక్షను చేసినటువంటి items కూడా ఎక్కడవి అక్కడ స్థంభింపబడ్డాయి. చెరువుల మరమ్మతులు స్థంభింపజేశారు. ఈ విషయములో ప్రభుత్వం పునరాలోచించాలి. ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రము వస్తుండనే సాకుతో, యీ స్క్రీములను వాయిదా వేయవద్దని అంటాను. వీటి విషయములో ప్రభుత్వము వారిని అడిగితే, మీకు రాష్ట్రము వస్తున్నది గదా, యింకను రాష్ట్రము, రాష్ట్రము అని వాదాలు ఎందుకు చేస్తారు అని ప్రభుత్వములోని మంత్రి వర్గీయులు అంటున్నారు. రాష్ట్రము వచ్చినను రాకున్నను, వచ్చినదాకా, ప్రజల కష్టాలను అపగలమా అని అడుగుతున్నాను. ప్రజలకు అవిసరమైన పనులు ప్రభుత్వం మానివేస్తే, అదేవిధముగా ప్రభుత్వం పనులు వసూలు చేయడంనూడా మానివేయవలసివున్నది. దైనందిన కార్యములు జరిగిపోతూ వుండాలి. అట్లు చేయకపోతే ప్రభుత్వానిదే అధర్మమని చెప్పక తప్పదు. ప్రభుత్వకార్యాలయాలలో ప్రభుత్వం విర్వడిన యీ పదకొండు మాసాలుగా ప్రభుత్వములో ఉన్న corruption, తదితర వ్యవహారాలు అన్ని నూడా గత అయిదు సంవత్సరాలలో మన ప్రభుత్వము సాధించినటు

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[Sri G. Latchanna]

వంటి ప్రతిష్ట కోల్పోయిందంటున్నాడు. ఇప్పుడు ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగుల పాలన అయిపోయింది. ప్రజాపాలన అమలులో లేదు. ఇటువంటి ముఖ్యమైనటువంటి వేరు ప్రతిష్టలు గలిగినటువంటి రాష్ట్రము ప్రభుత్వ పరిపాలనలో ఆవిసితి, లంచగొండితనం వచ్చు తెలిసిపోయిందంటే, యితర దేశాలవారుగాని, యితర ప్రభుత్వమువారుగాని, కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వములోనివారుగాని యీ ట్టేటును గురించి ఎంత మీనంగా చూతురో ఆలోచించాలని అంటున్నాను. నేను యీ ఆవిసితికి, లంచ గొండితనానికి చాలా వ్యతిరేకుడను. కర్నూలు జిల్లా కలెక్టరును గురించి నేను ఒక M.L.A. గా చెప్పుచున్నాను. ప్రభుత్వాన్ని నేను ఆయన విషయములలో ఒక విచారణ జరపాలన్నాను. కాని ముఖ్య మంత్రిగారు యీ విషయములలో ఏమి చర్య తీసుకున్నారో యింతవరకు ఏమి జరిగిందో చూడాలి అని అంటున్నాను. శాసన సభ్యులు చేసిన ఫిర్యాదులను ప్రభుత్వం కనీసం విచారణ చేయించాలి. నేను చెప్పేది ముఖ్యమంత్రిగారు పాటించక పోవచ్చు. అయితే యీ విచారణ సందర్భములలో నేనుగాని, మా పార్టీ శాసన సభ్యుడైనను, తనయొక్క స్వలాభముకొరకుగాని, యితర ఉద్దేశములతో గాని, ప్రజలకు సహకారంగాగలకుండా, ఏ జిల్లా కలెక్టరునుగాని, ఏ ప్రభుత్వ కార్యాలయాల కార్యదర్శినిగాని వివిధమైన స్వంత పనులకు స్వలాభావేషపరులుగా approach కాలేవని ఛార్జ్స్ గుర్తించి చెప్పగలను. ఒక వేళ ముఖ్యమంత్రిగారి వంటివారు అటువంటి ఆనా మానా స్వదమైన approach మా పార్టీలో ఏ సభ్యుని చేత నైనా జరిగివుండినట్లయితే, ఆ విషయములలో విచారణ విచారణ పెట్టించమని నా ఆధ్వర్యం. అటువంటి ఆవిసితి చర్య ఏదైనా బాగుండు అయినట్లయితే, వదిలి సందర్శనముల కిడుకు పాత్రులమనిగూడా నిరాహారంగా చెప్పగలను. అటువంటి విచారణ చేయించడము నాకు సంతోషమే. దానికి నేను ఒప్పుకుంటాను శాసనసభ్యులు ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగస్థులకు చెప్పిన విషయాలు కొన్ని ఆరు మాసములదాకా సమాధానాలురావు. జవాబులు పెంపొందరావు. ప్రజలు తమయొక్క పనుల కోసం ప్రజాప్రతినిధులైన మేము శాసన సభ్యులము అప్రెసియేషన్ సేవారము తప్ప మరెవరు యీ ప్రభుత్వానికి విన్నవించగలరు? ప్రభుత్వ వికరాలు ఏవైనా అడిగితే, అవి విచారణలో వున్నవని జవాబు చెప్పుతారు. ఏ విచారణ అయినప్పటికీ, కనీసము మాడుమాసములకు తక్కువ పట్టుదు. ప్రభుత్వ కార్యకలాపాలలో మనము అందరమును ఒకరొకరిమధ్య సన్నిహిత సంబంధ భావాలను అలవరచుకోవాలి. ఈ నాడు యిది ప్రజా ప్రభుత్వమనిపించు కొంటున్నది గనుక, ప్రభుత్వానికిని, ప్రజలకును మధ్య సహకారమును, సన్నిహిత సంబంధమును ఏర్పడాలని అంటున్నాను. అప్పుడే యిది ప్రజాపరిపాలన అనిపించుకుంటుంది. ప్రజాపరిపాలన సక్రమంగా నడపాలంటే, ప్రజలకును ప్రభుత్వానికిని సన్నిహిత భావాలు పెంపొందాలి. ఇదిచాలా ముఖ్యమైనది మని అంటున్నాను. ఇప్పుడు సాగించబడుతున్న ప్రభుత్వ విధానము ప్రజాసాక్ష్య సిద్ధాంతాలకు వ్యతిరేకమని గుర్తించాలి. ఈ పరిస్థితులలో ప్రజల సహకారం ఎట్లు లభిస్తుంది? ప్రభుత్వంయొక్క ఖర్చులు తగ్గించాలి. ప్రజలతో సన్నిహిత సంబంధం కలుగజేయుటకు మార్గములు అన్వేషించాలి. రాష్ట్రములో నూటికి తొంభైమంది విద్యా విహీనులు, అవినీతిమయితే తప్ప, మరెవరు యీనాడు కన్పించడములేదు. ప్రజా సాక్ష్య ప్రభుత్వానికి యిటువంటి ఆవిసితి, లంచగొండితనము ఉండుట మంచిదిగాదు. అందుచేత, యీ లంచగొండితనము, అవినీతిని నిర్మూలించ జేయాలని కోరుతున్నాను. ఎవరైనా చెప్పినా ఈ విషయము ప్రత్యేకంగా యీ శాసన సభలలో సమగ్రంగా చర్చించి, ప్రత్యేక చర్యలొరకు ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరవలసిన ఆవసరము వున్నది. నా దృష్టిలో ప్రస్తుతము Prohibition Department అవసరమంటాను. ఈ శాఖ ప్రజలకొరకు ఏర్పడదీ. ప్రజలకు ప్రభుత్వానికి సన్నిహిత సంబంధాలువుంటే, యీ శాఖ

[Sri G. Latchanna]

[21st March 1953]

అనవసరమంటాను. అందుకని దీనిని తగ్గించవచ్చు. ఈ Department క్రింద ప్రభుత్వం ఖర్చుచేసే సొమ్ము అంతయు శుద్ధపండుగ అని నా అభిప్రాయము. ప్రజాభిప్రాయము లేని ప్రభుత్వము నిలువబడదు. ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగులలో ఆరాచకాలు కనబడుతున్నాయి. ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగుల రిపోర్టులమీద ప్రభుత్వం నుంచి ప్రజల వ్యవహారాలలో ఆర్డర్లు వస్తున్నాయి. ఇటువంటి ఆర్డర్లవల్ల ప్రజలకు అన్యాయము జరుగుచున్నది. ప్రభుత్వము తనయొక్క క్రింది ఉద్యోగులమీద కేవలం ఆధారపడడం అనేది అన్యాయం అంటాను. ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగులు లంచగొండితనమునకు లోబడినందున ప్రజలకు న్యాయము జరగడములేదు. అందువల్ల ప్రభుత్వ విధానములో మార్పురావాలి అంటాను. ఉద్యోగులంతా తప్పులు చేస్తారని అనను. అసలు కరిపాలనా విధానంలోనే లోపం వున్నది. ఇది మార్చాలి. విచారణకుగాను ప్రభుత్వానికి పిటిషనుయినై, అది పది నెలల వరకు బయటికిరాదు. ప్రభుత్వ పరిపాలనలో red-tapism పెరిగిపోయింది. ఇక్కడ ప్రభుత్వ Departments లోనే అన్యాయాలు జరుగుతున్నప్పుడు ఆశ్చర్యమేమి వున్నది? ఏ విషయములోనైనా ఎవడైనా తప్పుచేస్తే వారిని నిశ్చించవలసియున్నది. ఇప్పుడు అటువంటి డెక్కరా కనబడదు. ఈ పరిస్థితులలో దొంగతనం చేసినవాడికి, అధికార్లు దొంగతనం రుజువుకానివ్వరు. వాడి తప్పు కప్పిపుచ్చటం జరుగుతున్నది. ఎవరిమీదనైనా Complaint చేస్తే, కేసు రుజువుఅయ్యే పరిస్థితులలోగూడా తీర్పు చెప్పడంలో వ్యతిరేకంగానే ఆర్డర్లు యిస్తారు. న్యాయమైన తీర్పులు యివ్వబడుట లేదు. ఉదాహరణకు ఒక విషయం చెప్పతాను. ఒకడికి అన్యాయం జరిగింది, అని వివరిస్తూ, నేనే personal గా ఒక రెటరు వ్రాద్దామని అనుకొని, ఒక ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగికి వ్రాశాను. ఆ మీదట అక్కడవుండే Circle Inspector వచ్చి 'ఎవరయ్యా, యీ వ్రాత్రము వ్రాసింది. మా అధికారి పిలుస్తున్నారు రండి' అని నన్ను గట్టిగా అడగగా, నేను అంతటితో, పిటిషన్ ఎవరిదగ్గరకు వచ్చిందో వారు రమ్మంటే వస్తాను. నీవు నన్ను పిలువటాని కేలాంటి సంబంధములేదని వెల్లిపొచ్చుని చెప్పగా ఆయన వెల్లిపోయాడు. ఆ తర్వాత మొన్నటిరోజున, నేను స్వయంకుగా ఆ డిపార్టుమెంటు Deputy Secretary దగ్గరకు వెళ్లి విషయములన్నియు వివరంగా చెప్పాను. అప్పుడు ఆయన యీ విషయము ఆతి రహస్యమైనదనినీ, నన్ను యిండులో జోక్యము కలుగజేసుకోవద్దనినీ, అట్లు కలుగజేసుకొనుట న్యాయంకాదని అన్నాడు. అంతే కాకుండా నేనుచెసినది అనవసరము అధికర ప్రసంగం అని అన్నాడట. నేను చేసింది న్యాయమని అంటున్నాను. నన్ను ఆ అధికారిదగ్గర వెట్టుకొని యీ విషయము అంతయు పరిశీలించినట్లయితే, వాస్తవము తెలియను. ఇది administrative interference అని అన్నాడు. కాదని నేను అంటున్నాను. ప్రజలలోరకే నేను సహాయముగా నిజస్థితి తెలుసుకొని అన్యాయము జరగకుండా చేయాలని తలంపుతో వెళ్లాను. ఈ ప్రభుత్వ విధానము చాలా అక్రమమయినది. ప్రభుత్వ విధానము చూడగా అందరిని చిక్కులోకి తేవాలనే procedure ను dub చేయాలి. Procedure అంతా wrong procedure అని అంటాను. అందుచేత దయచేసి యికముందైనా ఏ కేసు అయినను ఆరుమాసాలవరకు కాలయాపన చేయకుండా మూడు మాసాలలో పరిష్కారమయ్యేట్లు ప్రభుత్వం చూడాలి. ఏదైనా పిటిషను ప్రజలు ప్రభుత్వానికి పంపితే, దాని విషయములో పదిమాసాలవరకు ఆ పిటిషనుమీద ఏ వర్య తినుకోబడకుండా యిక్కడక్కడికి పంపబడుతుంది. అందువల్ల యీ procedure మార్చాలని అంటున్నాను. ఇక పోతే Irrigation Department విషయం తీసుకుందాము. దీనికి సంబంధించిన కృష్ణా-వెన్నా రు ఆనకట్ట విషయములో ప్రజలలో ఎంతో తీవ్రంగా అందోళన జరిగింది. మన రాష్ట్రములో దీనివిషయములో ఎన్నో తర్జన

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భర్తలు జరిగి అది ఒక స్థాయికి తేలింది. అందుకు సంతోషమే. రాయలసీమ ప్రజలు యీ కృష్ణా-వెన్నాడు నీరు ఉపయోగించడములో అన్ని ప్రాంతాలలోకి వెనుకబడినట్లు వంటి యీ నాలుగు మండలములలోను ప్రజలకు నీటి సౌకర్యము కలుగుతుందనే ఆశ పెట్టుకుని వున్నారు అని హెచ్చరిక చేస్తున్నాను. దీనికి అంత ఆవేశం అవసరములేదు. ఈ కృష్ణా వెన్నాడు విషయములో వెనుకబడిన ప్రాంతాలకు ప్రధానాధికారం కల్పిస్తామన్నారు. అందువల్ల ఎందుకు యింత ఆలస్యము అని అడుగుతున్నాను? ఈ విషయమై మన ప్రభుత్వము మధ్యను ఢిల్లీ ప్రభుత్వము మధ్యను జరిగే వివాదాలు నాకు అర్థమగుట లేదు. వెనుకబడిన ప్రాంతాలయిన యీ రాయలసీమకు ముందు సౌకర్యాలు చేయవలసిన ఉద్దేశ్యముతో కోస్తా కమిటీవారుగాడా ఎలాగే యిచ్చారు. దీనికి సంబంధించిన High level channel గాని, గండికోటగాని, సిద్ధేశ్వరంగాని, విదో ఒకటి ముందు వస్తుంది అంటున్నారు. ప్రజలచేసిన అందోళన న్యాయమైనదనే అంటాను. ప్రజలయొక్క యీ అందోళన సహజమయింది గనుక సాధ్యమయ్యేంత త్వరగా వారిని తృప్తిపరచేటాధ్యత ప్రభుత్వముమీద ఉన్నది. అందుచేత దయచేసి ప్రభుత్వం ప్రజలను సంశ్లేషింపరచటానికి వస్తుతము అది ఏ stage లో ఉన్నదో మాకు ఎవ్వరు చెప్పడములేదు. దీనికి Departmental secret వున్నదంటున్నారు. దీనిని అమలుపరచుటకు ఎందుకు కాలయాపనచేస్తున్నారో అర్థము కావడములేదు. ఇకమీదట ఏ మాత్రం ఆలస్యము చేయకుండా, తగ్గరీతినినుకొని యీ కృష్ణా-వెన్నాడు నీరును రాయలసీమలో వీలయినంత ప్రాంతానికి ఉపయోగపడేట్లుగా కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వాన్ని వత్తిడిచేసి త్వరలో వచ్చేట్లుగా వ్రాయించమని ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరుతున్నాను.

(At this stage Mr. Speaker resumed in the Chair.)

“ఇక గ్రామసీమల విషయం చూడము. Land Reforms తెస్తున్నామని ప్రభుత్వము ప్రకటించేసింది. ఈ Land Reforms ఎన్నో వర్షములనుండిగా ప్రవేశపెట్టుతాము, పెట్టుతామని ఆనడమేగాని, యి తవరకు విధి కనబడలేదు. ఇం ఆలస్యమవుతున్నందుకు, ఇందులోనూడా విదో ఆరాచకము red-tapism ఉన్నదనుకుంటాను. ప్రజల కష్టాలు ప్రభుత్వము గోచరించినట్లయితే, యివరకెప్పుడో యీ reforms వచ్చియుండేవి. రాష్ట్రములో 4,008 గ్రామాలు వున్నవి Water-supply కావాలంటే దిక్కులేకుండా ఉన్నది. Irrigation facilities వున్నవా అంటే, అవీ తక్కువగానే ఉన్నవి. Electricity supply చూద్దామంటే, అంతకంటే లేదు. గ్రామాలు యీ విధంగా దుస్థితిలో ఉంటే, యివి అభివృద్ధి కావాలంటే, మరీ విధంగా యీ గ్రామాలు వృద్ధికిచ్చునని ప్రభుత్వాన్ని అడుగుతున్నాను. సిద్ధేశ్వరం ప్రాజెక్టు కై నను ప్రభుత్వము వారి డబ్బులేవని తప్పించుకొంటున్నది. గ్రామాలు అభివృద్ధి వ్యవసాయమీద ఆధారపడి ఉన్నది వ్యవసాయానికి కావలసినవన్నీటవంటి నీటి సౌకర్యాలు వివిధమున్న ప్రభుత్వము చేస్తున్నట్లు కనబడదు. నీటి వనరులు వగైరా ప్రభుత్వము కలిగించినప్పుడే గ్రామాలు వృద్ధివెందగలవు. పట్టణవాసులు గ్రామాభివృద్ధిమీద ఆధారపడి ఉన్నారు. గ్రామాలు అభివృద్ధికి తెచ్చేనే పట్టణాలు వృద్ధి కాగలవు. అప్పుడే ప్రజల శ్రేయస్సుకొరకు యీ ప్రభుత్వం పాటుపడుతున్నదని చెప్ప వీలగును. దేశములో ఉన్న ముప్పదికోట్ల జనాభాను పోషించుటకు వ్యవసాయమే ముఖ్యమైనది కాబట్టి, యీ సంస్కరణలను త్వరలో అమలులోకి తేవాలని ప్రభుత్వం వారిని కోరుతున్నాను. ప్రభుత్వమువారు Rural Welfare Department అని పిలుస్తున్నారు. ఈ డిపార్టుమెంటుద్వారా పనులు తృప్తికరంగా నడచునట్లు కనబడదు ఈ రోజులలో ఖేడి వర్షాలుంటివాట్ల ఒక్కొక్కరికి కనీసము నాలుగు చీతము నూరు రూపాయలు యివ్వాలని అంటున్నారు. యీ కనీస వేతనాలు గురించి

[Sri G. Latchanna]

[21st March 1953]

వర్గం అభివృద్ధిగాను ప్రభుత్వమువారు శ్రద్ధ వహించాలి. ఈ విషయములో ప్రజలను ప్రభుత్వమువారు ముఖ్యపెట్టుతున్నారు. ప్రజల విశ్వాసము ప్రభుత్వము సంపాదించుకొని, యీ సీ. మును ప్రజల అనుభవానికి తీసుకురావాలి. అధికారంలో ఉన్న పార్టీ ప్రభుత్వముగాని వారు చేసిన పనులు కాని, ప్రజలను ముఖ్యపెట్టుటే గాకుండా, ప్రజల యొక్క ఆశయాలను ప్రభుత్వము ప్రహించకుండా పరిపాలన చేస్తున్నారు. అందువల్ల ప్రభుత్వము తలపెట్టిన పనులు ప్రజలు ఖచ్చితముగా పాటించడానికే అవసరము లేదు. ప్రజల విశ్వాసము ప్రభుత్వము పొందాలంటే, ప్రభుత్వము ప్రజలకు చేసే పనుల ద్వారానే పొందాలని గాని మరేవిధంగాను పొందలేదు. గనుక నేను ప్రభుత్వానికి యిచ్చేటటువంటి సలహా యేమిటంటే, ప్రజలకు వ్యవసాయాభివృద్ధిగాను irrigation సౌకర్యాలు ఏర్పరచాలి. ఈ విషయములో రివిన్యూ మంత్రిగారు ప్రజలయందు చింతము కలగజూపి, శ్రద్ధ వహించి యీ irrigation సౌకర్యాలు చేయించమని కోరుతున్నాను. ప్రజల యీ సౌకర్యాలకోసం ప్రభుత్వానికి మహజరు పంపుకుంటే, ఆ పిటిషను Irrigation Engineer కు పంపండి, తర్వాత Executive Engineer కు ఆయన వద్దనుంచి Assistant Engineer కు, ఆయనవద్దనుంచి Overseer కు పంపబడుతుంది అని ప్రభుత్వమువారు చెప్పుతారు. కాని యీ ఇంజనీర్ల దగ్గరకు వెళ్లి ఆ పిటిషను విషయము కనుక్కుంటే, అది ఎంతో కష్టమమీద ఆ పిటిషను ఓవర్సీరు వద్దకు వచ్చిన సంగతి బయటపడుతుంది. చివరకు ఆయనను వెళ్లి కనుక్కుంటే, ఆ పిటిషను ఆయనకు రానేలేదని అంటారు. చివరికి యీ పిటిషను మీద ఏ రెండు విండ్రులు, మూడు విండ్రులుగాని ఆర్డరురాదు. యీ లోగా పంట, వైరు సంగతి విమలనో ప్రభుత్వమే గుర్తించాలి. త్వరలో నీటి సౌకర్యము ఏర్పరచుని ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరుతూ పిటిషను పెట్టుకుంటే, చివరకు అది ఓవర్సీరు కేబిలో నలిగి ఏమీ ప్రయోజనం లేకుండా పోతుంది. సకాలంలో ఆర్డరుయిచ్చి ఆ రైతుకు నీరు సప్లయ్ అయితేగాదా అతడు పంట పండించుకోగలడు. సకాలమునకు నీరు అంద నందున పంటకు రైతు నష్టపడతాడు. అప్పుడు ప్రభుత్వము ఏ విధంగా శిస్తులు వసూలుచేయగలదు అని అడుగుతున్నాను కాబట్టి ప్రభుత్వ పరిపాలనా విధానములో యీ Irrigation Department, చేసేటటువంటి అన్యాయాలు యింత త అని చెప్ప వీలులేదు. లంచములు యిచ్చేనే ఆ రైతుకు నీరు అందును. పిటిషనుతో పనిలేకుండా గాదా ఓవర్సీరుకు, యింజనీరుకు లంచములు యిస్తే వెంటనే నీరు సప్లయ్ చేయించుకోగలస్తే తొలికి వచ్చింది. ప్రభుత్వము లంచములు సంపాదించుటకొరకా, యీ ఉద్యోగులను ప్రభుత్వం నియమించేది అని అడుగుతున్నాను. ఈ విధానములో పూర్తిగా మార్పు రావాలి. ఈ ఖర్చుగా యీ వ్యవసాయము అభివృద్ధి చెందాలంటే, ప్రభుత్వము ప్రజల సౌకర్యాలు చూడదలస్తే యీ Irrigation Department వారిని, Engineering Department వారిని, ప్రజలకు సకమంగా నీరు సప్లయ్ అవుతున్నదా లేదా అని తెలుసుకునేందుకు గ్రామగ్రామానికి వెళ్లి స్వయముగా దర్శిస్తే చేసి, ప్రజల కష్టాలు అప్పటికప్పుడు తొలగించటానికి ప్రయత్నించాలి. ఈ విధంగా ప్రజల మనువులు ఒక డిపార్టుమెంటునుంచి, యింకొక డిపార్టుమెంటుకు వెళ్లి, చివరికి ఆర్డరు వచ్చినదాకా ఆ రైతు కామగొని పూడడమనేది పంట పాడైపోవడమే కాకుండా రైతు అభివృద్ధి చెందనేరదు. అందుకని రివిన్యూ మంత్రిగారు యీ విషయములో తగు శ్రద్ధ వహించి కమపడ్డతిమీద ప్రజల సౌకర్యాల కనుగుణంగా మార్పులు లేవాలని కోరుతున్నాను ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగస్తులలో అనినీతి, అరాచకము ముందు తొలగించాలి. అప్పుడే యీ ప్రజలకు సౌకర్యము లభించును. వ్యవసాయము వృద్ధి కాగలదు. వేరు మార్గంలేదని చెప్పకతప్పదు.”

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* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are now coming to the fag end of the general discussion on the Budget. Before dealing with the Budget proper, I would like to discuss one matter that was raised by the Hon. Chief Minister in his speech yesterday, so that I can devote the rest of my speech to the main features of the Budget, as to how exactly the Budget tries to solve or not solve the problems facing the people and as to what hope and inspiration it gives to our people.

" First of all I must say that I am glad that the Hon. Chief Minister made that kind of speech that he made yesterday with regard to the Andhra State. I only wish that he had made the categorical statement some time earlier, i.e., about two months back. I only wish that he had made his own position with regard to the formation of the Andhra State clear, not two months earlier but even about two years earlier.

" If to-day the Hon. Chief Minister comes and says that some of the members of the Communist Party coming from Andhra had changed their stand, I must protest and point out that it is an unfounded charge. He should have realized that his own conduct in the past has led to a situation wherein the entire Andhra people look upon him if not as an enemy, at least as a person who has been standing in the way of their obtaining the Andhra State. The Chief Minister now comes and tells us that after the death of Sardar Patel he had changed his mind. I take him at his word. But, unfortunately, for him and for us we never knew anything about it until now. On the other hand what the public of Andhra and what the public of this country as a whole knew was this: ' When he was Minister in the Central Government, just before relinquishing office and coming down to Madras for rest in 1951, when a resolution on this question was discussed in Parliament he, the present Chief Minister of this State, made a statement that the linguistic division of the country was after all an administrative problem, and one should not make much of it.

" Apart from this during the last two or three months various issues connected with the question of Andhra State have been agitating the minds of the people of this State. They were issues of controversy. Certain people belonging to the Hon. Chief Minister's own party, people who are supposed to be very close to him, have been frequently making statements diametrically opposite to the stand that he has taken yesterday on the floor of this House. I ask what are others to think about it. Let him ponder over that. He quoted the example of Hon. Mr. Venkataswami Naidu and said that he, Mr. Naidu, did nothing more than stating that the shrine at Tirupati had Tamil culture. Well, if Mr. Venkataswami Naidu had confined himself to an exposition of the cultural aspect of the temple at Tirupati, nobody could have taken offence to that statement. But unfortunately at the Conference at Tiruvavur he went further and made a statement claiming that Tirupati must belong to Tamilnad on the ground that the shrine had Tamil culture.

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Where do such statements take us to? Again there is another person Mr. Sivagnana Gramani who is known to be very close to Mr. Rajagopalachariar. What is the sort of propaganda that he has been doing in this State on this issue? Did he not claim Tirupati on this identical ground? Why did not the Chief Minister put down such propaganda by those who are very close to himself? Why did he not tell those people, 'Well, look here, this kind of propaganda which rouses the Tamil people against Andhra people is not good for the State, for our people and for this country; therefore stop this kind of propaganda?' Why did he not do that? Why did he not come out with the categorical statement that Tirupati belongs to Andhras two or three months before? Why did he not condemn this kind of propaganda?

"Having done nothing of these, he comes and tells us now that the Andhra Communists have changed their stand. It is a fantastic position that he takes.

"As regards the courage of conviction, if any charge is to be levelled against anyone, it is against the Chief Minister himself. I would not have said this if he had come out with his categorical statement about Tirupati one or two months back. I say he did not make this statement earlier because he did not have the courage of conviction; because he was not courageous enough to tell his own followers they were wrong and they should desist from that kind of propaganda.

"Let us look at the facts and see who had the courage of conviction. At a time when in the entire Andhradesa all other parties were agitating and demanding that Madras City should be made a Part 'C' State, i.e., a Commissioner's State, it was the Communist Party alone that had the courage to tell the people that it was unjust to ask that Madras City be made a Part 'C' State. Again, on the question of allocation of revenues and division of assets and liabilities it was the Communist Party that took a bold and courageous stand. All the time responsible people of the Congress Party were making all sorts of statements. Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, whom rumour tips for the Ministry had been saying that the Communists of Andhra do not claim Madras for certain ulterior motives.

"In spite of such slanderous campaign the Communist Party both in Andhra and Tamilnad took a firm and unequivocal stand. Therefore it is very wrong for the Chief Minister to say that we have changed our stand. I wish to reiterate that if only the Chief Minister had made a categorical statement much earlier, if only he had made his position clear on the question of Tirupati much earlier, if only he had taken up the stand that he took yesterday with regard to the division of the State as being one of divisional responsibility of Government and not of division of property or territory, I am sure it would have helped to smoothen the atmosphere; it would have helped to smoothen ruffled feelings of the people. Those were terrific days of stress and strain that we have had to pass. Instead of appreciating the firm stand taken by the Communist Party

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basing itself on justice and democracy for the people, instead of appreciating the fact that we have never swerved an inch from the stand, he has levelled a very unfair charge against us. I leave at that, Sir. I am glad that at least yesterday he made that categorical statement.

" Now coming to the Budget proper, nine months ago we were presented with a Budget by the Finance Minister. At that time the Hon. Finance Minister stated, ' Well, the Government have come into office only a few months back and so we did not have much time to formulate our policies and programme '. Even at that time I had pointed out that it was a very strange position for any Government or party in power to take. Long before any party takes up the reins of office it is incumbent on the party when it goes before the electorate to formulate its policies and programme. It is incumbent on the party to tell the people, ' These are our policies and programme. We shall fight for them if we are in opposition; we shall implement them if we are returned and called upon to take up office.'

" That is the position for any party to take. But the Party that is now in office took up an entirely different and strange attitude. Two months after taking up office they came to the Legislature and told us that they had no time to formulate policies.

" With regard to the present Budget, I do say that it reflects the policies !

" What does this Budget tell our people? I am not going now into the question of famine, unemployment, etc., about which so much has been told. Even the members of the Government, including the Chief Minister, have admitted that there is widespread famine in our State. The question is, does this budget give to our people any hope or inspiration? Does it inspire with the hope that their problems will be solved at the end of this year; or next; or the year after? Is there anything in the Budget to indicate that the people have started on the road to a brighter future?

" Yesterday the Hon. Chief Minister appealed to us to co-operate with him. In what way does he want the co-operation of the Opposition? After hearing the speeches of Sri Rajagopalachariar, Dr. Krishna Rao and others I fail to understand in what manner they expect us to co-operate with the Government? All their speeches are tales of woe. All of them seem to sing the same song that the Government has no resources and so it can do nothing to alleviate the sufferings of the people. And they expect us to go to the people and tell them that this Government cannot do anything. Is that the co-operation they seek from us?

" Much was talked about the Five-Year Plan. But yesterday Sri Rajagopalachariar himself had exploded the myth of that plan. It is clear to all now that the plan will not solve a single problem of the people. The Chief Minister had stated clearly that the Five-Year Plan, as far as this State is concerned, is completely disturbed,

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not ordinarily disturbed, but completely disturbed in the resources part of it. Naturally a plan whose myth is completely disturbed in its resources part, stands completely undermined in its very foundation. There cannot be a plan without resources. Resources are the basic foundation of any plan. In the third year of the plan—the third year has not yet begun; it commences only on the 1st of April—we are being informed by no less a person than the Chief Minister that the Plan stands undermined to its very foundation.

“ This is not the position which is peculiar to our State alone. I would like to point out that this is the position in State after State. I shall just give one example now. Let us take the speech of the Financial Minister of Uttar Pradesh. The same State of affairs is painted in his speech also. In his Budget Speech he has stated, ‘ If the Five-Year Plan has to be implemented and the Rihand Dam has to be constructed (this is included in the Plan) and at the same time taxes are being regarded as unpleasant, while loans are not forthcoming and the Government of India are unable to help, naturally the question arises as to how the necessary funds are to be obtained.’ Only he did not answer that question.

“ All sources are dried up. The Government of India source is dried up. Taxation sources are dried up. Loans from the public are not forthcoming. This is the situation in State after State. I can give quotations from the speeches of Ministers of almost every State in this country who have all told the same tale of wail.

“ I am not an admirer of this Five-Year Plan, but none the less in these conditions, I say that even this Plan stands completely undermined.

“ The financial position of the Central Government is none too good. The Finance Minister of the Government of India told us the other day that their deficit in the Capital Budget runs to the tune of Rs. 110 crores. He banked upon one source and that source was the Nasik Printing Press. He thought that he would be able to resort to deficit financing. In fact the Plan itself had provided for deficit financing to the tune of over Rs. 290 crores and the Finance Minister of our own State banked upon the statement of the Finance Minister of the Government of India on the question of deficit financing.

“ The Central Government had called for experts from the International Monetary Fund for the purpose of advising them as to the extent to which deficit financing may be safely resorted to. But unfortunately for Mr. Deshmukh and the Hon. Mr. Subramaniam, Mr. Bernstein the expert from the International Monetary Fund had publicly stated the other day that he would recommend zero deficit financing. Under these conditions what are we to do? Are we to tell the people, ‘ We have no money to finance the Plan. The Central Government must come forward to help us.

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But they too have no money. Still you must come forward to co-operate with the Government !' What is the type of co-operation that can be forthcoming for such an appeal? Hence what is there in this Budget for the people? Hope for the people? Absolutely none. Greater frustration? Yes. Now let me take the Budget itself. The Finance Minister was congratulated on placing before the House a true picture of the state of affairs in the State. To a certain extent it is true. At the same time, however, I must say that my friend has also learnt the tricks of the trade. How is it that the Budget has been balanced? I am not taking the Rs. 20,000 surplus as a big surplus. I take it to be a balanced budget. How does the Finance Minister present the balanced budget? "

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" Where have I stated that? "

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" I am talking of the Revenue Budget and not of the Capital Budget. How has the Revenue Budget been balanced? Expenditure on the most vital department has been drastically cut down in the Revenue Budget. Expenditure on the most essential needs of the people has been cut down.

" Take Irrigation. The expenditure on Irrigation for the current year was Rs. 156 lakhs and the expenditure for the Budget year is Rs. 117 lakhs. This is the amount proposed to be spent in the coming year on minor irrigation works. Member after Member, whether he was in this side of the House or the other, whether he belongs to this party or that party has been demanding more and more irrigation facilities. Famine is admitted to be of a colossal nature by the Ministers themselves. At such a time the Finance Minister provides for only Rs. 117 lakhs, i.e., Rs. 39 lakhs less than for the current year.

" Take Public Health. Under conditions of famine, under conditions of drought, and extreme distress anyone would realize that the health of the people is likely to be more and more undermined. And what is the present solution for preventive measures? The amount estimated to have been spent for the current years is Rs. 164 lakhs. We are now going to spend Rs. 127 lakhs for the coming year, i.e., Rs. 37 lakhs less. Again a reduction of over 20 per cent.

" On Civil Works on which Rs. 889 lakhs was spent during the current year, we are going to spend Rs. 602 lakhs, i.e., a reduction of Rs. 287 lakhs. A number of civil works have already been stopped. Whatever employment is available to workers in Civil Works will be unavailable.

" Then, take Famine Relief, the most important measure needed for our people. We spent Rs. 183 lakhs on this item including Rs. 120 lakhs by way of gratuitous relief in 1952-53. As against this the total amount provided for in the Budget year is just Rs. 17 lakhs. Five lakhs of rupees go into the Famine Relief Fund and I am not taking that into account. The pressure of the people

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may alter the position later on and compel the Government to increase the expenditure. I am sure that that pressure will definitely come.

“ Take the provision for advances to cultivators. The Revised Estimates for 1952-53 show that Rs. 300 lakhs would have been spent for the current year. But for the coming year the Budget makes a provision for Rs. 150 lakhs, i.e., a reduction of 50 per cent. At a time when thousands of agriculturists are in greater need of credit due to famine, drought and complete failure of the crops, provision for credit has been curtailed. Our peasants are thrown at the mercy of the usurers.

“ Take Communications. The Government have cut down the expenditure from Rs. 199 lakhs provided for in the Budget to Rs. 134 lakhs in the current year. The Budget Memorandum admits that many road works had been stopped. For the coming year the provision is just Rs. 85 lakhs, i.e., less than half of what was provided for in the current year.

“ Under the conditions what is the co-operation the Government expects from us and even from the Members of the Government Party itself? Do you want us to go and tell the people that this Government is very sympathetic to the sufferings of the people but it cannot do anything.

12.50
p.m.

“ We were told that Rs. 10 crores have been spent on famine relief for the current year. It is here I say that the Finance Minister has learnt the trick of the trade. I went through the Budget, every page. I am not able to find where this Rs. 10 crores were spent. Ten crores of rupees is not a small sum! Even if we accept the figures furnished by the Hon. the Revenue Minister, the other day at their face value, the total amount spent for Rayalaseema works out to only Rs. 3½ crores. That means that the balance of 6½ crores of rupees was spent in the districts of Tamilnad. Now I would ask the hon. Members coming from the Tamil districts to understand what this figure means, what famine relief can be given with it and judge for themselves whether this sum has been spent on their districts. This is one aspect of it.

“ If hon. Members go through the Budget, they will find that the total sum spent by the Government on direct famine relief measures under which is included also the gratuitous relief given to the cyclone-affected areas is only Rs. 183 lakhs. This includes Rs. 48 lakhs to be got from the Government of India towards half the cost of gruel centres. Apart from this direct famine relief expenditure it will be found that on minor irrigation, Government had spent Rs. 22 lakhs more than what was actually budgeted for. The Budget provided for Rs. 55 lakhs. But they spent Rs. 77 lakhs. It is stated that the additional Rs. 22 lakhs was spent because of famine on additional minor irrigation works that were undertaken as famine relief works.

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"Then if you take the entire loans advanced to the cultivators as famine relief—this is of course a fantastic decision to take—even if it is so we find that the Government have spent 3 crores of rupees on this account. Ordinary takkavi loans are advances made to cultivators whether there is a famine or no famine. And then it is a capital budget expenditure and not a revenue expenditure. It is not also an expenditure in the strict sense of the term but only recoverable advances. Assuming that to be an expenditure that it is not to be recovered, assuming that this entire amount will be famine expenditure, how much all these add up to? Rupees 183 lakhs on direct famine relief, Rs. 22 lakhs on minor irrigation, and 3 crores of rupees by way of advances to cultivators do not make up a total of Rs. 10 crores. They only add up in all to Rs. 5 crores. Then road construction programme which could really be considered as famine relief work, has been curtailed. Expenditure on this has been reduced. In the face of all these how does the Hon. Finance Minister reckon and tell us that a sum of Rs. 10 crores has been spent on famine relief? I leave it to the Hon. Finance Minister to explain this to the House and the public.

"The Hon. Finance Minister has regaled us with the story, 'now that the prices have stabilized at a lower level conditions are going to be better for the people'. Unfortunately for us that is not the picture that is painted to us by the Finance Minister of the Government of India. Our State Finance Minister tells us that trade is now looking up. But what is the position of trade, as described by the Finance Minister of the Government of India? After recounting the terrible adverse balance of trade of India, he goes on to say in his Budget Speech: 'What about the future? I think the coming months will not be as favourable as the last six months of 1952. With regard to the exports there has been further reduction in the prices of principal exports, particularly jute manufactures and oil-seeds. A number of countries have imposed restrictions on imports'. This is now the Finance Minister of the Government of India looks at the export trade. (Interruption by the Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam.) The Hon. Finance Minister says he is not concerned with the export trade. But I say our peasants grow commodities of export and they are very much concerned with their prices. Our peasants grow cotton, groundnut, pepper, oil-seeds and other commercial crops and Madras State happens to be the State in which a large volume of exportable commodities are actually grown. Under the conditions referred to by the Finance Minister of the Government of India prices are going to fall further. To-day that is exactly what we see. Groundnut position is pretty bad. The position of sugarcane has collapsed. Peasants find it unprofitable to grow sugarcane. The Pugalur Sugar Factory is about to be closed down. Already hundreds of workers have been thrown out and sugar production is falling down. This is the economic position of our State. I would

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therefore request the Finance Minister not to come forward to paint a better picture than what actually exists. Let us all understand the real economic situation of our State.

When this is the economic situation what is it that the Government propose to do in order to retrieve the position? It is this with which we are very much concerned. Apart from reducing expenditure on the items I have already enumerated what do the Government propose to do with regard to the terrific problem of growing unemployment? Far from relieving distress they are adopting measures which only go to aggravate the problem.

For instance, a number of electricity workers have been thrown out of employment. And the Government say, 'What can be done? There are no resources.' What is actually the position, Sir? Take the Madras Electricity Department. Is it or is it not a fact that supervisory staff and administrative staff employed by that department to-day is six times that of the staff that was there when the Madras Electric Supply Corporation was in charge of it? Is it that this department is generating to-day more power than what the Madras Electric Supply Corporation was generating? Here are the figures. When the Madras Electric Supply Corporation was in charge, the peak load was 21,900 K.W. To-day it has gone up to 29,300 K.W.—a little over one-third. The total number of units that the Madras Electric Supply Corporation generated was 102.7 million. The Electricity Department to-day generates only 135.56 million units. The increase is only about 33 per cent. For an increase of 33 per cent in output, why do you require six times the administrative and supervisory staff employed by the Madras Electric Supply Corporation? There is a Divisional Engineer, there are Assistant Engineers in every department. But has the system improved? Is there efficiency? How do you justify this five-fold increase in expenditure on the supervisory staff?

If there is a question of retrenchment, how does it happen that the axe falls on the workers? Why should not the Government apply the axe on the big administrative and supervisory officers drawing thousands of rupees as salaries? Why are they not retrenched? They cannot be touched, but the workers can be disposed of at the sweet will and pleasure of the Government. I can quote instance after instance, department after department where the administrative staff has increased manifold. (An hon. Member: 'The Electricity Administration in Madras has been nationalized.') It is a misnomer to call this nationalization. I am reminded in this connexion of Karl Marx who has stated that the British by imposing the zamindari system in Bengal made a caricature of the English landlord system. The nationalization that has been carried out by the Government of Madras is a caricature of nationalization. It is not the nationalization that the people were fighting for.

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“ There has been an electricity cut. Workers in our textile mills and other industrial units are getting work for only two days in a week. Their earnings have been reduced to one-third. What is it that the Government propose to do in the matter?

“ I am surprised the Hon. Labour Minister comes forward to 1 p.m. give a certificate to the Coimbatore mill-owners for their generosity. From 1948 onwards for five years in succession these are the only mills in the whole of India that have been refusing to pay the customary bonus to the workers. If they pay bonus the workers will have something at least to stand by. These mill-owners refuse to accept the Industrial Courts Award which gave the workers six months' wages as bonus for 1948 and appeal to the Appellate Tribunal. The matter is still hanging on for three or four years. But the mill-owners are getting their huge profits. For 1948 itself, according to the balance sheet they realized more than 100 per cent of their paid-up capital and since then have been making up profits year after year. There might be crisis for the workers, for our peasants, for our middle-class, for our merchants, for the small capitalists, for the handloom weavers and for our artisans. But for the big mill-owners—British and Indian—there is no crisis for them.

“ And what is this wonderful generosity about which the Labour Minister talks so eloquently! They agree to assure a minimum of 13 days' wages in a month to the workers.

“ Let alone the human factor; these mill-owners do not even consider that skilled workers who have been trained for 15 years cannot be replaced easily. If the workers' skill is lost, if their physique is lost, the present rate of production even cannot be maintained.

“ Instead of telling the mill-owners, ‘ It is not the fault of the workers that they are unemployed; you have earned colossal profits in the past. It is your duty to help them and see that your own workers are kept at least on subsistence level of wages ’, the Labour Minister gives a certificate of generosity to the mill-owners. If this is the way of a responsible Minister of the Government, what is it that the workers can expect of this Government?

“ Similarly the Tramway workers are facing unemployment due to threatened retrenchment. The Pugalur Sugar Mills is being closed down. Same is the case in regard to the beedi industry. The Government's answer to the demand of the workers is, ‘ We have no money ’. Under this pretext they propose to introduce a tobacco tax. The State Government tells us that previously the Central Government was giving the State about 56 lakhs of rupees from the excise duty on tobacco. They have stopped it. Therefore, it becomes necessary to re-levy this tax. But the Government conceals the fact that to-day they are giving 40 per cent of the excise duty on tobacco, matches and vegetable oil to the divisible pool. Out of this, this State gets 3.5 crores of rupees more from the Centre than hitherto. When this is the case why this pretext for

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fresh taxation? Let the Government be straightforward and tell the people, 'We want money. Whatever sources are available to us we will tax. Only it should not be landlords and big monopolists.'

"The effect of this tobacco tax will be that thousands of beedi workers will be thrown out of employment. There is unemployment all round. Unemployment in the beedi industry, unemployment in the sugar industry, in the engineering industry, in every industry. Instead of solving the problem, instead of arresting the growth of unemployment the Government's measures will only aggravate the problems. That is my specific charge.

"But, the Government says, 'What are we to do? Is there a way out?' We say there is a way out.

"We are told that the Central Government has got to come to our rescue and that the Opposition should support the Hon. Chief Minister for getting more money from the Centre. Certainly we want the Central Government to give us more money. Even last year during the debate, I believe, on the Governor's Address, I made our position very clear. We have a Constitution under which the States do not have elastic sources of revenue. They are starved. But they are charged with the responsibility of all the nation-building departments. Then why should we not fight for changing the fundamental financial structure of the Constitution? When I stated it last year we were pooh-poohed. The Hon. the Chief Minister said then, 'I agree with many things which Mr. Ramamurthi stated, but unfortunately he wants me to join him to fight the Central Government. But the Ministers at the Centre are my friends. Why should I fight them? I can use the method of gentle persuasion. When I can operate in the field of gentle persuasion, why should I operate in the field of fight?' This is what he told us. The language might not have been the same. But the substance was that.

"We were then told by the Members belonging to the Ministerialist Party, 'Now that we are fortunate enough to have a person of the stature of Shri Rajagopalachariar as the Chief Minister, we need not worry at all. If only Mr. Rajagopalachariar goes to Delhi and speaks to Mr. Nehru, Pandit Nehru would immediately come forward to help the State. Well, the stature of Shri Rajagopalachariar has not gone down in any way since then. On the other hand it has only increased. Last year, he was not a member of the Congress Working Committee, which he is to-day. In spite of all these, after nine months we are now told that all these did not help Sri Rajagopalachariar, all these were of no avail for that gentle persuasion with the Central Government. The entire House is now being asked to join him in begging the Central Government.

"We do not believe that the people of the State should be perpetual beggars. Whoever might be at the Centre, whether it be Pandit Nehru or anyone else, we want to be assured of our own

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legitimate share. The Constitution comes in the way of this. It comes in the way of not only this State getting its proper share out of the tax revenues of India, but in the way of the other States also. Therefore, let us all join together to fight and change the fundamental financial structure in the Constitution which prevents us from undertaking those responsibilities which we have got to undertake.

"This is not a new position which we are taking up. Immediately after the Finance Commission's report was published, we wrote an editorial in the organ of the Communist Party. I would just read some portions of it to make our position clear :

* When the Congress was in the opposition, in the days of direct British rule, it vehemently opposed the Government of India Act of 1935. It directed its particular attention to the financial structure underlying the Act.

* Under the Act, the responsibility for all development activities, for the development of agriculture, education, irrigation, health, etc., in fact, of all those that are known as nation building departments was cast on the Provinces. But they were asked to take up the responsibility for these vital activities without necessary resources.

* The Central Government reserved to itself all the elastic sources of revenue like income-tax, customs, excise, salt, etc. All this was necessary for an imperialist State whose primary function was to repress the people. The Central Government could escape the wrath of the people by diverting it on to the Provincial Governments which were charged with the task of looking to the well-being of the people.

* But the same Congress leaders that fought this financial structure of the Government of India took the Government of India Act of 1935 as their model in all respects including its financial structure, when they framed their Constitution for 'free India.'

* This financial structure is the loudest commentary on the democracy that is supposed to have been embodied in the Constitution. Charging the States with the responsibility of all the vital functions for the well-being and prosperity of the people, but denying them the necessary resources—this is their democracy.

* This is equally the loudest commentary on the Welfare State that is being advertised. Over sixty per cent of the tax revenues is retained for the army and huge civil administration by the Centre. Out of the remaining 40 per cent, the States maintain a huge police army to repress the people. What then is left for the welfare of the people?

* It is remarkable that Mr. Deshmukh who was asked to make an award in 1950 regarding the proportion of allocation of the divisible pool of income-tax revenue followed the same basic principles that were in the earlier Niemeyer Award that was in force in the days of the Government of India Act.

* The Finance Commission has recently made a report on the subject and its recommendations have been accepted. In the main it has also followed the same principles enunciated by the British imperialists. What else could it do, functioning within the framework of a Constitution designed for the same purpose as the Government of India Act, viz., the protection of the profits of the imperialists and the wealth of the exploiting landlords?

* These niggardly concessions (devised by the Finance Commission) given in the face of growing demand from the States cannot solve the financial problems of the States. They must get a larger share of the elastic sources of revenue, a greater share of the income-tax and almost the whole of the revenue from excise. This can be done by cutting down the expenditure on defence which consumes 50 per cent of the Central Budget and by reducing wasteful expenditure on a topheavy administration.

* The basis of allocation between the States should take this task of overcoming backwardness as the primary criterion. Inevitably, the relative population will be an important factor in this.

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‘Only this will lead to the strengthening of the unity of India; unity of India has no meaning if the backward areas and States are to continue to welter in their backwardness. Any other principle will only lead to conflicts between the States and to the nurturing of separatist tendencies.’

‘Despite Nehru’s professed anxiety to guard India’s unity, all his Government’s actions—including the Five-Year Plan—only breed conflicts between our peoples just because they perpetuate unevenness of development as between various States and areas.’

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“Let us look at the revenues of the whole of India during the year 1950-51, i.e., the year after the Constitution came into force. The total revenues of the Centre and all the States put together was Rs. 629 crores. Out of this all the States got Rs. 170 crores and the Centre took Rs. 450 crores and odd. This is what is called a ‘Welfare State’. About 60 to 70 per cent of the total revenues are being swallowed by the Centre. Forty-five per cent of it is spent on the Military. And Civil Administration consumes another big chunk. The States are to maintain a huge police force. What then is left for people’s welfare? And yet they go on telling *ad nauseum* that this is a Welfare State.

“Let us not be mistaken that we refuse to co-operate with the Hon. Chief Minister in asking the Centre for more money for our State where famine and mass unemployment are stalking the land. At the same time we do not want to beg for it. Let us claim our rightful share and fight for it. That is why I invite the Chief Minister to join us in a movement for changing the very structure of our Constitution which prevents us from carrying out those tasks with which we are charged. It is a battle not only of the people of this State. It is the battle of Bengal, of Travancore-Cochin, of Bombay, of every State in the whole of India. Let us begin that fight from this State. We can together mobilise our people for a huge campaign and lead the whole country in an irresistible campaign for changing the Constitution. Let Mr. Rajagopalachariar and the Congress Party join hands with us if he is really serious in asking for our co-operation.” (Applause.)

MR. SPEAKER:—“Visitors in the gallery should not clap their hands. I will have to send them out if they persist in doing so.”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—“Perhaps the Leader of the Opposition is speaking to the gallery.”

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“I am sorry the Hon. Finance Minister thinks so. If all this does not make any impression on him, I can only be sorry for him. Because we feel deeply about it, it is because we are interested in the future of our country, it is because we are interested in the development of the State and of our people we do not want our people to be beggars. We want them to assert their rights.

“Coming to other questions I want to refer to what the Hon. the Chief Minister has stated the other day. He told us that we the Members on this side of the House do not believe in increasing

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production. We believe only in distribution. He told us that the problem before the country was increased production and distribution will come later.

“ Well, there has been really an increase in the production of our organized consumer industry. Our sugar factories had increased their production by nearly 25 per cent. This year they had established a record. But what do we find the Centre doing in these conditions? They issue communique warning the sugar factories against ‘ surplus ’ production. They hunt for overseas markets. Not finding them, sugar factories close down.

“ Or take the Textile Mill industry. From 3,800 million yards for 1951 production has increased to 4,600 million yards in 1952. But they talk of a glut in the market. The Finance Minister of the Central Government says that this level of production cannot be maintained unless overseas markets are found. They cannot dispose of a total output of cloth which already gives an average of 9 yards per head. Such is the low purchasing power of our people. And yet the Chief Minister repeated that production alone is the problem. To talk of production unconnected with the issue of the living standards of the masses, with their purchasing power is stupid.

“ The Government’s policies have led to a situation where even the existing productive capacity cannot be utilized. History teaches us that revolutions take place when productive forces are fettered and stagnate and decline. The Government’s policies have led to a situation where the greatest productive forces—the Labour Power of millions of our people—cannot be utilized. The labour power of 380 millions is the greatest capital we have in this country. Our capital in this regard is next only to China. With different policies this labour power could be harnessed for productive purposes.

“ Let me now come to the other resources that we have. Let us take the resources in land. Let me take first the district of Tanjore.”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ Take Coimbatore first.”

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Let me start with Tanjore. Others will easily follow. We talk of the purchasing power of the common people. What is the purchasing power of the peasant? Wherefrom does he get it? He gets it out of the produce that he produces on land. In Tanjore district there are still one lakh of ‘ velis ’ owned by the big mirasdars. In spite of the Tanjore Tenants and Pannaiyals Protection Act these big mirasdars get 60 per cent of the paddy that is grown out of the toil and sweat of the peasants. They do not toil, they invest nothing in production. Even if you compute at the lowest level these big landlords get 100 kalams of paddy for every ‘ veli ’ of land that is let out. They get thus over one crore kalams of paddy which would bring them

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over 13 to 15 crores of rupees every year. This is how the wealth created by the peasants, the bulk of it, is being distributed between the few landlords in the Tanjore district. Of course, my friend the Hon. Mr. Venkataswami Naidu also appropriates something of it through his Religious Endowments Board. If the people who produce this wealth are allowed to retain what they produce what will be the position? I am not asking that the landlords' lands must be confiscated. I know this Government cannot do that. But why should not the landlords' share be reduced to 25 per cent? I am not asking for the moon. I am only asking for the implementation of the principles which the Five-year Plan itself has adumbrated. The Five-Year Plan says in the Chapter on land policy :

“ While it is difficult to suggest a generally applicable maximum rate of rent, over the greater part of the country, a rate of rent exceeding one-fourth or one-fifth of the produce could well be regarded as requiring special justification.”

“ They enunciated principles. They tom-tom this Five-Year Plan. But when something which is of some benefit to the people is stated it is not implemented.

“ Last year the Government said that they were seriously thinking of some basic land reforms. To-day they trot out the excuse of the impending formation of the Andhra State for not bringing any land reforms. The Andhra State does not certainly stand in the way of legislations for land reforms. Certainly the common people, the peasants of Andhra are not going to object if the Government brings forward land reforms. Then what is it that stands in the way? It is the interests of the landlords which, to this Government, is supreme.

“ If the landlord's share is reduced to 25 per cent, the peasants of Tanjore will get 70 lakh kalams of paddy every year which means about 6 crores of rupees in the hands of the peasants of Tanjore. If this is guaranteed I make bold to say that the peasants will even be prepared to pay about 50 per cent of the additional income to the Government for development purposes. The Government can get 3 crores from Tanjore district alone. You can work it out for other districts. And you will get an enormous figure.

“ I am not now asking for fundamental reforms in the sense that land be made the property of the peasants. But immediately if the landlord's share is reduced to not more than 20 to 25 per cent throughout the State the peasants will get not less than 40 crores. Out of this the State can easily get 20 crores. Twenty crores purchasing power in the hands of our peasants is not an ordinary thing. He will be able to buy the handloom cloth. The handloom weavers will ply their looms once again. Our people will need not only the 4,800 million yards of mill production and the 1,800 million yards of handloom production, they will want more. And there will not be a conflict between the handloom and the mill industry for a long long time to come.

“ They will buy sugar and sugar mills will not complain of over-production.

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" The Madras Government has in stock now, one lakh tons of fertilisers, worth 4 crores of rupees because they were unable to sell it to our peasants last year. Our peasants with the additional purchasing power in their hands will buy not this one lakh tons of fertilisers but more of it. And their land will yield more of grain and cotton and sugarcane.

" Secondly take the question of profits earned by the monopolists. Last year the Harvey Mills alone earned a profit of Rs. 47 lakhs. They paid a dividend of 20 per cent and still Rs. 15 lakhs were left to be carried over for the next year. In 1947 in the famous Industrial Truce resolution the Government of India promised to put a ceiling on profits at 6½ per cent. They had provided for it in the first Control of Industries Bill. Later on they gave it up. If the profits are limited to 6½ per cent, Harveys will have to be satisfied with a profit of about Rs. 10 lakhs. The rest of it—over Rs. 37 lakhs—could be mobilized for productive purposes decided upon by the Government. But I will be told that the Provincial Government cannot touch this subject. I will be told that it is a Central subject. But, Sir, we the representatives of the people of our State, as people interested in the development of our resources for the well-being of our people, are vitally interested in it. If the Central Government adopts a policy which leads to our resources being exploited by certain vested interests, which allows them to loot our people and make maximum profits, which leads to famine and unemployment, certainly, we as responsible people have got a role to play in preventing that exploitation, in preventing that loot. Therefore I say we have got to join together and mobilize our people against the Central Government not for the purpose of asking for some doles, but to tell them only, 'We cannot allow our resources to be wasted. We cannot allow ourselves to be looted by certain British employers and monopolists. We want at least that the profits of the big employers in our State be limited so that the extra profits can be mobilized by the people, by the State, in order to develop our productive resources. A few crores of rupees can be found for development schemes within our own State.'

" Take the third item. The Budget provides for 75 lakhs of rupees as this year's share of compensation to the zamindars. We are told this cannot be stopped. I ask, 'are the zamindars going to die if this compensation is stopped?' The Government tells us, the Chief Minister tells us that it is a national calamity, that it is a national disaster and everyone must share it. All this homily is only for the common people. As far as the zamindars are concerned they must get their compensation.

" I am not asking you not to pay compensation at all to the zamindars. We shall deal with that question later. What I ask now is, why not issue non-negotiable bonds to them for 30 or 40 years and stop this 75 lakhs for the time being? I say, 'Issue not negotiable bonds but non-negotiable bonds'. Later on the future Government will decide as to what should happen to these

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bonds. (Laughter.) Why not bring forward a legislation for this purpose? If necessary we will sit for another five or six more days. We are prepared to forego all our engagements and sit and pass such a legislation.

"You want to tax the beedi industry for getting a paltry sum of Rs. 68 lakhs. But here is a source which gives 75 lakhs. Why don't you take it? The reason is, you don't want to touch the zamindar's interests. Property is more sacred to you than man, than human life.

"Yesterday the Chief Minister was waxing eloquently over the question of the sanctity of life when dealing with the question of political prisoners. I do not want to go into the question of murder and all that to-day. Because, I thought that question has been settled in the last Assembly itself. If I take it up then I will have to go into the question as to who were the murderers—the police or the Communists—I will have to go into the question of murders in Andhra, in Tamilnad and in Malabar committed by the police. But now that the Chief Minister had talked so much about the sanctity of life let me ask him a simple question: 'Are the lives of the millions of people in the State who are to-day starving, who are facing hunger and unemployment more sacred to you, or is the right to obtain 75 lakhs of rupees as compensation year after year by a few zamindars more sacred to you? Why do you deem the right to get the compensation to be more sacred and say that it cannot be touched? Stop that payment this year itself and tell them, 'It is not a question of whether there should be compensation or not, but it is a question of national calamity, of national disaster. To-day we cannot think of paying you compensation.'

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"I now come to the problem of the indebtedness of the peasantry. What is the provision that the Government makes for loans to agriculturists this year? Rs. 150 lakhs as I have already pointed out as against Rs. 300 lakhs provided for in the Revised Estimates of last year. At a time when the peasants stand in greater need of loans for their agricultural operations the Government curtails credit facilities and leaves them entirely at the mercy of the usurious money-lenders.

"In district after district, on account of the drought of the last five years, the burden of debt on the peasant has increased by leaps and bounds. They are fast losing their land. They are losing all their belongings, their houses, their hutments and even their utensils. The other day I saw in Chingleput district a man selling away his tamarind tree which would give 100 rupees worth of produce every year, for 200 rupees. Why? He says, 'I am starving; my family is starving; my children are starving. How could I wait for one year for the produce it may yield? I have to get something immediately. What can I do but sell this tamarind tree which is all I own.'

"Similarly mango trees are being sold. Whatever the peasants have, is being sold. Such is the bitter struggle for existence.

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" On top of it the money-lenders attach their properties because they are unable to pay their debts and interest charges. The Government issues distress warrants for their inability to pay land revenue. This is the actual condition of the peasant to-day.

" Leave the question of the solution of the problem of indebtedness for the time being. Immediate relief has got to be given to these people. Why not immediately declare a moratorium so that a solution to this question of agricultural indebtedness can be calmly and coolly thought of later? But immediately the passing away of lands from the hands of the peasants to the money-lenders and big landlords can be immediately put an end to. Otherwise at the end of two or three years all the land in the hands of the peasants will pass into the hands of a few money-lenders and a few landlords. Land monopoly will increase tremendously. The entire peasantry of our State will become landless labourers. Leave alone the question of 'land to the tiller'. The most urgent and immediate problem is to retain the land that is in the possession of the peasant. Therefore moratorium has become the most urgent need of the hour.

" If these immediate measures are taken, if the peasants are assured that the bulk of the produce from land will be theirs and if they are not going to be deprived of the land they have got, then and then only we will be able to harness their resources, their enthusiasm and their creative energy for big development plans. Speaker after speaker from the Government side pointed out, for example, the hon. Member from Chingleput—I forgot the particular constituency from which he comes; not Saidapet; I think it is Madurantakam—pointed out how by digging a small channel from the Pennar river and connecting it with a particular irrigation tank, that tank could be assured of water-supply. He said that it does not cost much, about Rs. 20 per hundred feet or so. If the peasants are assured of a major portion of the produce and also assured of the right of occupancy and freed from the nightmare of eviction they will be imbued with enthusiasm. They will not worry that the Government has not dug the channel. They will not worry that they have no big machines. On the other hand they will come forward with their own implements to dig the channel because they know that the water will irrigate their lands and that they will have the right to retain that land and its produce to themselves. That way hundreds and thousands of our peasants can be mobilized to come forward with their pick-axes and other such implements to repair tanks, deepen them, dig wells, dig channels and carry out hundreds of other irrigation works. That is the way to utilize our human labour power. We know that in China not a few months back they built a dam across the Yangtsee to a length of five furlongs. They built it in 75 days. They were able to build it because a solution of the land problem roused their creative energies, of hundreds of millions of peasants. I am glad that my friend Mr. Anthoni Pillai came forward and asked the Government to learn from China and the Soviet Union. I did not expect it from him. But such is the colossal and epoch-making

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achievement of China and the Soviet Union that even a person of the type of Mr. Anthoni Pillai who has always been the bitterest critic of the Communist Party, of the leadership of the Soviet Union and of China has had to come out and ask the Government to learn from them.

“ If the Chinese people could build five furlong dam in 75 days can't we do the same here? Our people are in no way inferior to anyone else. We have an industrious peasantry; we have a wonderful and capable working-class. In fact all the experts who had come from foreign countries have paid glorious tributes to the capacity, industry and intelligence of the working-class of this country. Our railways continue to be in a very bad condition. Engines and coaches condemned long ago are put on the track. Track maintenance also suffered. It is only the Indian working-class that is capable of running such a railway. Such is the kind of working-class we have.

“ But we have a Government that does not trust our workers. They have no faith in the creative capacity of our common people. They cannot and do not enthuse them. Once the feeling is created, once the people realise that what they produce is for themselves—that at least the bulk of what they produce will be for their use—then they will come forward with greater and greater resources, creative energy and enthusiasm to assist in launching upon and executing big development schemes, because they know that these schemes will benefit themselves and the country. As a matter of fact what is this two thousand crores of rupees set apart for the financing of the Five-Year Plan? We want not two thousand crores but ten thousand crores immediately if we have to fight and eradicate poverty and overcome centuries of arrested growth. The money can be found in this country provided a different policy is adopted, provided that people who have the money in their hands and are leading parasitic lives are tapped, provided the people are enthused. Once this is done there will be no conflict between the mill workers and the handloom workers. Our people will use all the cloth that we produce in the handlooms and the mills and will want more. They will need not 15 lakh tons of sugar but 20 lakh tons and more and their wants will daily increase. Their capacity to consume also will increase. Our industries will grow and trade will thrive.

“ All this can be done only if different policies are pursued. By mere talk of ‘ production, production ’ it will not grow. To-day the problem of production and the problem of distribution are both inter-linked. The one cannot be separated from the other.

“ To-day you have come to a dead-end; you have confessed that you are not able to find a way out. The Central Government is not able to find a way out. Mr. Rajagopalachariar, our Chief Minister who is supposed to have a wonderful brain is not able to find a way out. He only talks of frustration.

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" If any Government, let it be the Government of Mr. Rajagopalachariar, or let it be the Government of Mr. Bakthavatsalam or let it be the Government of anybody I do not mind, is prepared to implement such a programme, then and then alone we on this side of the House will give our fullest and unstinted co-operation. If not we will have to oppose their policies. We will have to mobilise our people to defeat those policies.

" Otherwise all this talk of co-operation is meaningless. Even in regard to the Five-Year Plan what is the co-operation that the people can give? Even Mr. Desmukh, the Central Finance Minister, in his reply to the Budget in Parliament the other day admitted that there is very little for the people to co-operate. Even the ' Eastern Economist ' in its editorial stated ' true emphasis should be placed on Government and private agents of managements ' (i.e., contractors) ' It is they and not the people who are responsible for 95 per cent of this Plan. It is senseless to keep on beating the air with exhortations to the people to take this Plan and make it their own.' This is not a Communist paper that says it. It is the Government that has got to do it. It is for the Government to find the resources. Such being the case, what is it the people have got to do with the wonderful Five-Year Plan? This is what even Birla's Eastern Economist says after examining the Plan. And even with regard to this Plan our Chief Minister has stated that it is completely disturbed in this State in its resources part of it. That means its bottom is knocked out. Let us therefore evolve a plan which will mean that our people can really participate. That alone will enable us to go out into the country and rouse the people in the battle against famine, against drought, against want and against unemployment.

" Instead of doing that, the Government adopts different measures and different policies. It is precisely because of this that the Government have to keep a huge Police Force costing us Rs. 7 crores per year. Famine relief may be cut down. Irrigation works may be cut down. But expenditure on Police Force cannot be cut down. Why? Precisely because the policy pursued by the Government lead to increasing distress, increasing economic deterioration and increasing unemployment. The common people fight against this worsening of these conditions. Their demands are simple demands.

" The other day Mr. Sahajananda who is not a member of the Communist Party or a member of any other party in the United Democratic Front but a member of the Congress Party, gave us a graphic picture of what happened in Chidambaram. The peasants there do not ask for 75 per cent or 55 per cent of the produce. They just ask for 40 per cent, the same that is given in the adjoining district of Tanjore. They patiently waited. They asked the Government to intervene. The Revenue Minister was apprised of the situation but he said he would not intervene.

" Under these conditions the peasants said that they were not going to give the landlord's share. They did not take away their

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produce but stored it in a common place—on the threshing floors near the fields—and said that it shall be there until the Government mediate and settle the matter.

“When this was the simple demand what did the police do? The Congress Party vociferously shouts that it is very solicitous of the welfare of the Harijans. But in Chidambaram when these Harijan peasants demanded a small increase in the share of the produce that they had produced out of their toil, hundreds of them were beaten by the police. Two women were taken to the hospital. Harijan cheris were entered into and the houses looted. I demand an enquiry. (Cheers from the Opposition Benches.) I am prepared to prove my statement to the hilt if a proper enquiry is conducted.”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“I do not know what you would consider to be a proper enquiry. We have already conducted an enquiry.”

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“Let the Finance Minister come with me. Let us both go to the villages and make enquiries of the common people there. That is all I demand and nothing else. I am confident that I will be able to prove to the satisfaction of the Finance Minister that indescribable atrocities have been committed.

“In Virudunagar, there was a strike of bus workers. Last year they put forward certain demands. They were not accepted for about six months. Finally due to pressure of public opinion, due to the strength of the working-class the management was forced to come to certain terms in September last (or perhaps it was December). But he flouted those terms. The Government's Labour Officer tried to settle that question. He summoned the management to his office. According to the report of the Labour Officer that gentleman refused even to appear before him. The Labour Officer has sent up a report to the Government that the management must be prosecuted.

“Finally the workers went on strike a few days ago. The police has no business whatsoever in the dispute. They cannot allege a single act of violence. But immediately the workers went on strike the Magistrate issued an order under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. When the workers go on strike the police and the Magistracy are there to prevent them from meeting together. Right of collective discussion is completely taken away. This is certainly designed to break the morale of the workers.

“The leaders of the Communist Party were externed.

“Where is this democracy and where are the fundamental rights about which the Congress tom-toms? Everywhere in this State to-day the right to hold meetings by the workers and peasants is dependent upon the sweet will and pleasure of a police officer. In most places ban orders under the City Police Act is in force for months and years together. We have got to wait upon the Sub-Inspector or some other officer for a licence to hold a meeting. If

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we have to hold a meeting with loud-speakers we have got to run after the Deputy Superintendent of Police. Where then are our fundamental rights and where is this democracy?

“ Our Chief Minister said the other day that there was no political discrimination. I am glad that he gave that assurance. But is that the practice? I will give now one example. Here is a circular issued by the Government marked ‘ Secret.’ The Central Government has decided that passports and visas to Ceylon should not be given to members of the Communist Party. The Police Commissioner of Madras and the Magistrates in the districts are informed that they must call for reports from local police and the village officials. And if they are satisfied that the applicant is a member of the Communist Party, passport should be refused.

“ ‘ Don’t grant the passports to the members of the Communist Party.’ And who is to decide whether the person is a member of the Communist Party or not? Sub-Inspector of Police or a village munsif? If this is not political discrimination what else is it, Sir? Where is democracy and where are the fundamental rights?

“ Take another example. In 1951 the Government passed an order that no municipal council should subscribe for or place in the public libraries the newspaper ‘ Janasakthi ’. Even if the municipal council unanimously decided to subscribe for the paper the Government did not allow it. The funniest thing about it is that the order was passed at a time when the paper itself was not in existence. Such is the fear of that newspaper. That order continues in force to this day. In spite of the fact that many municipal councils and local boards want that newspaper to be placed in public libraries run by them, the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards vetoes any expenditure on this item. Is this not discrimination against a particular party? If this is freedom, if this is democracy, if this is non-discrimination then we have to change our understanding of the meaning of those words. Even to-day the Hon. the Chief Minister does not come forward with a declaration that immediately an order will be issued releasing all the political prisoners. And yet the Chief Minister asks for co-operation. (Interruption by Hon. Sri Subramaniam.) If the Hon. Finance Minister talks of murder we will go into that question. We would demand and have demanded that the murders committed by the police in Andhra, in Tanjore and some other parts of this State must be gone into. We are prepared for it. Let the Government have the courage to press this issue. When this question was raised last year the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachariar talked very sweetly and said, ‘ Things have happened long ago. Why do you rake them up now? No useful purpose will now be served.’ The Chief Minister who talks of co-operation refused to make such a declaration. Why cannot they pass such an order? It can be done by a stroke of the pen. Where is the question of examination of individual cases?

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" The basic understanding running through the speeches of the Ministers despite the appeal for co-operation is not one of co-operation. The basic understanding is not one of democracy. It is one of suppression, of the people, of their movements, of democracy in the interests of protecting the landlords and monopolists.

" It is because of this there is need to keep a huge police force costing 7 crores of rupees and costly repressive machinery.

" If the measures we suggest are adopted, if a new policy is adopted, then there will be no need for this huge police force. Then the peasants will not go into struggles. The workers will not go on strike. On the other hand the workers and peasants will support such a Government. And they will fight through those obstacles to implement such a policy. Of course certain people, certain vested interest, will obstruct the implementation of such a policy. The landlords will obstruct it. The enemies of the people will obstruct. For bringing these people to book, this huge police force is not necessary. The people will deal with them. (Applause.) The Government need not maintain a police force costing Rs. 7 crores. The common people know how to overcome their obstruction.

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" Finally I would like to make our position clear. Every single measure that I have put forward here is not the Communist programme. I would like to make it absolutely clear that every one of these measures has been accepted as part of the programme of the United Democratic Front. Despite certain defections and despite the success of Mr. Rajagopalachariar in this direction we know that the United Democratic Front will grow. It is because our programme is a programme for the people; it is in their interest. If the Government goes on with its anti-people's policies, the United Democratic Front will grow in strength in proportion to the struggles it leads in support of this programme. People will support us. And with people's support the United Democratic Front in the Legislature also will grow in strength. On the other hand, with the policies followed by the Government the Congress is not going to increase its strength despite all its manœuvres. I want the members on the opposite side to read the writing on the wall. The day will come if you persist in the present policy when the bickerings that have already started inside the Congress Party will burst forth and smash the party with the growing struggles of the people against those policies.

" You have come to a dead-end. You cannot give any hope to our people. The Budget speech of the Finance Minister only sows frustration among our people. The Labour Minister cannot inspire hope in our people. They cannot even tell them that if not this year at least next year or the year after their conditions will be better. The Chief Minister cannot inspire our people with hope and confidence in the future.

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“ I know our Chief Minister for a long time. In 1945 there was a meeting in the Gokhale Hall against the threatened retrenchment in the Railways. I think that Mr. Kalyanasundaram organized that meeting. Our Chief Minister was not scheduled to speak in that meeting. But yet he came and we were glad that he came. After I had spoken he also spoke. I had pointed out in my speech then that the problem facing the country could be solved, a way-out could be found, but the condition for it was that a National Government must be installed in power. Mr. Rajagopalachariar who followed me stated that he felt encouraged and confident after hearing me.

“ But yesterday, Sir, it was a pathetic figure of the Chief Minister that the House saw. He said that nothing can be done for the people and that Government cannot do anything to solve the problems of famine and unemployment. It cannot even continue the existing projects. That means the Chief Minister has no plans. The Congress has no plans. It has no programme that could improve the conditions of our people.

“ Therefore I say if you are sincere in your demand for co-operation you must do it by implementing that programme that I have put forward. Otherwise show me a programme which is better.

“ Finally I want to make an appeal to all the Members of this House and even to the Members of the Congress Party. I would ask them to realize what they stood for in the past. Many of them had been my colleagues. We have been together in jails. Many of them had suffered imprisonment and fierce lathi charges.

“ I ask them, ‘ Is it for this you went to jails and made those sacrifices? Is it for telling our people after six years of your rule that there is no hope for them out of starvation, out of famine and out of unemployment? Is it for sowing this frustration that you went to jails? Search your hearts and I am sure if you search your hearts properly, then there will be a proper response. If you do that you will find that you are not standing for the best interests of our people with the policies that are being pursued by your Government. Let Congressmen examine this policy in the light of actual experience. They will then find that the interests of our people, the interests of our country which inspired them to seek imprisonment in 1930, 1932 and 1940 are not being served by the policies that are now being pursued by this Government to-day.

“ I would therefore earnestly appeal to every honest Congressman of the Assembly who has the interest of our people and our country at heart and ask them to realize the urgency of the problem. Let them realize what is at stake. Our entire social fabric is being torn to pieces. Family ties are being broken. Our Chief Minister is a great moralist. Let him realize what is happening to-day in our land. Let us realize what is happening to the peasants, to the artisans in the famine-stricken areas.

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"Our women have a wonderful quality. She will starve but will not see her husband starve. She will starve but cannot bear to see her children starve. To-day the handloom weavers leave their families and run away in search of jobs and end as beggars on the streets of Madras. Their women see their children starve before their very eyes for days together; inch by inch their lives are eaten up. Unable to bear the starvation of their children our mothers and sisters at last prepare themselves to sell their most cherished possession—their chastity. Can our Chief Minister condemn them? Can he call them immoral? No. They want their children whom they have brought forth to live and serve our country. The love of their children compels them finally to sell their most precious possession.

"This is what is happening not in one village, not in one family but in cities and villages throughout Tamilnad, throughout Andhra and throughout Malabar. Our entire social background is being turned asunder. Let every Member of this House realize the urgency and seriousness of the problem. Let them realize what great things are at stake. And let us shake off this frustration, this feeling that the Government wants to inculcate in the people that nothing can be done. Let us inspire our people with hope for the future. Let us tell them, 'here are the natural resources; here are the resources of our country.' Let us all harness the entire strength of our people and our entire natural resources and unite and fight, so that all those evil forces which are standing in the way of our growth, of our development, all those reactionary forces which obstruct our productive forces and which lead to hunger, starvation, famine, unemployment, disease and death are done away with. We can and shall work for a happy future for Tamilnad, Andhra, Malabar and for a happy and prosperous India. I invite all the people, all the Members of the House who are interested in the well being of our people, who are prepared to defend and fight for peoples' prosperity, democracy and freedom to come together." (Cheers.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"The House will now rise for lunch and re-assemble at 3 p.m."

(After lunch—3 p.m.)

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sure that every hon. Member will share with me the sense of relief that this long debate is coming to an end. I had not intended to make any long speech after the inspiring speech which the Hon. the Chief Minister made yesterday. But, after the speech of the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, in spite of the fact that my health does not permit it, I have to cover certain grounds and I have to meet certain points which have been made on the floor of this House. We have been in office now for nearly a year and the hon. Members of this House are entitled to sit in judgment over our achievements and failures, and over our acts and omissions.

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“ Sir, I have been trained as a lawyer and, therefore, I am able to take these criticisms in an objective spirit without taking them as personal criticisms. So, I have always welcomed any points that are made against me or against the Government and especially when it used to be a sharp stab or thrust, I used to relish it most. Even though a stab came from my back also (laughter), I did not take any great objection to it. Of course, the hon. Member who dealt that blow from the back should have rather hesitated, pondered and thought twice before making that speech. But still the hon. Member from Sivaganga chose to speak in a language which was worthy of a Member of the Opposition. I am not going to dwell on that at any length but I want to state this merely for the purpose of showing that I welcome criticism from whichever quarter it may come. In this period of one year, I am not prepared to say, as far as I am concerned, that nobody else could have done better under the circumstances. I am occupying this position, if you will permit me to say so, by mere accident. I am sure that there are so many talented Members here who could have done really better. But I can make this claim, and I can make that claim not only on my behalf but on behalf of my Colleagues also, and that too with a clear conscience, that we have honestly strived to do our best in the best interests of the State. If that claim is admitted, I will be more than satisfied.

“ Sir, in paying tributes to our Chief Minister, it has been stated that he has saved this State from chaos and confusion. Especially when this statement is made by certain vested interests, they mean that Rajaji avoided in the State a Communist regime or a Communist-controlled regime. But, in my view, that is the least important aspect of the achievement of Rajaji. During this one year, in my humble view, he has made the greatest contribution for the successful working of democracy in this country. The framers of our Constitution have chosen parliamentary democracy on the British model for our Constitution, and that through the chosen representatives of the people. Government have to function as being responsible to the Legislature and once the confidence of the Legislature is lost, the Government will have to vacate. The Constitution avoided adopting the American model of irremovable executive. I have been saying, when answering points raised by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, that his conception of democracy differs from mine. I was not saying it just to score a debating point. I honestly and sincerely meant it because his ideology does not have any faith in parliamentary democracy. He believes in one-party dictatorship, of course, for the purpose of establishing democracy. Just as it is proclaimed that nations are preparing for war for the purpose of preventing war and wars are also waged for the purpose of preventing further wars, so also it is said that this one-party dictatorship is for the purpose of establishing democracy. How far they will be successful in establishing democracy through dictatorship, it is rather difficult to say. The Father of the Nation had been repeatedly telling us that the means also are as important as the ends. If we are true followers of the Father of the Nation—and the Members of the Opposition also use

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his name so often—we cannot establish democracy through dictatorship. Even though it be an one-party dictatorship, the claim is made that that one party has got to be the Communist party and no other party. If it is any other party, exercising dictatorship, they call it fascism and by many other names. That is why I say that the Leader of the Opposition's conception of democracy differs from mine. When I say this I mean it sincerely. I am referring to this aspect for the purpose of telling the hon. Members that we have adopted the parliamentary democracy and the executive is responsible to the Legislature. That being so, there has got to be some sort of party system. It is inevitable that we must have some party Government. If democracy means, as it is said to mean, a Government of the people, by the people and for the people, the party Government should act as a Government of the people, by the people and for the people. That is why our Chief Minister during the period of one year of his administration has laid great stress on this point, viz., that though this is a party Government, it should not be a Government for the party. That is the great emphasis that he has been laying and he has tried to see that the Government functioned at that level. That is why he was at great pains yesterday to explain in his speech that as far as he was concerned he was not prejudiced simply because a certain person held certain views or belonged to a certain political party. I can claim that the administration during this period of one year has tried to stick to this ideal. If we have failed, it is not because of any fault of the Chief Minister, but it might be due to the personal weaknesses of some of us.

“ Sir, in contrast to the professions made by the Chief Minister, the hon. Leader of the Opposition has brought one instance to the notice of the House where the Communist party has been singled out for discrimination and that is with reference to the issue of passports. That is a matter which is dealt with by the Government of India. With reference to the visit of certain persons from our country to a foreign country, we have got certain obligations to perform in respect of that foreign country. It is not only a question of the issue of passport here. They have to get the visa of that country to proceed there. This matter is governed by certain understandings between the various Governments. Sir, I am not here to justify or defend anybody. I am sure the Prime Minister of India will be able to defend the Government's policy if and when this question is raised on the floor of the Parliament at Delhi. Apart from this one instance which refers to the issue of a passport to a foreign country, even the hon. Leader of the Opposition with all the machinery available to him to fathom all the secret information, has not been able to get hold of any other instance wherein his party has been discriminated against. This speaks volumes for itself. Therefore, I am prepared to make this claim and I am sure hon. Members will agree that we have tried our best to act above party, to be a Government for all the people, not only for Congressmen or Congress sympathizers. This is necessary, as otherwise parliamentary democracy will not be a success. That is why I say that Rajaji's greatest achievement is that he has shown the

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way how to work democracy, and especially parliamentary democracy, so that it may function as a Government of the people, though it may be a party Government. With regard to policies we may differ, with regard to certain programmes we may differ. But once those policies and programmes are laid down, they should be worked without reference to any party or any party politics. According to me, Rajaji's achievement in this regard is the greatest.

“ There is one other aspect which I would like to impress and it is this. If the Government begins to function for the party, it is really not good for the party itself. Because, once the Government begins to function for the party, all sorts of favouritisms have got to be shown and even in the distribution of favours between one Member and another, grievances are bound to arise within the party. We know what will be the reaction of the people if we take such action. That being so, even persons belonging to the party to which the Government belongs, I am sure, will appreciate why Rajaji has been taking up this attitude. In this connexion, I wish to point out one other aspect. Everyone knows about the chaotic and confused condition which prevailed last year just about this time. The Congress party did not have an absolute majority. But still, it came forward to form the Government under the leadership of Rajaji. It has been claimed, not by ourselves only but by others as well, that a stable and strong Government has now been established in this State. Sir, even though we were in a minority, it had been possible for us to establish a stable and strong Government without compromising on principles. Any ordinary man who becomes the leader of a minority party and is called upon to form the Government would naturally resort to making political pacts and bargains so that numerically he may get some adherents. At once his attitude will be to gather strength by political pacts and bargains. That was not how the result was achieved by our Chief Minister. On the other hand, by impartial and just administration, Rajaji provided a stable Government to this State and was also able to make a change in the hearts of the Opposition Members. If the hon. Leader of the Opposition will search his own heart, I am sure, he will really admit of a change in him and in his attitude towards this Government. Of course, politics will not permit him to admit that openly. But I am sure in his heart of hearts he agrees with me that there has been change of heart even in him and also his followers. That has been brought about by impartial and good administration and not by providing jobs or ministerships to the various groups existing in the Assembly just for the purpose of gathering strength. It is one of the lessons which Rajaji taught us in working this parliamentary democracy which lesson is necessary in future years. I am sure, in future, there is not going to be in power a single party with such huge majority as exists now in many States. It is going to be a case of many parties. Under such circumstances, if a minority party is called upon to form the Government, how it can build up strength has been demonstrated by our Rajaji. That is the second aspect

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which I would like to stress. Therefore, I value these lessons more than I value the prevention of the Leader of the Opposition or the erstwhile leader of the Front from becoming Chief Minister.

“ Coming to the debate, Sir, it was mainly concentrated on two things. One is the famine. The second is the formation of the new Andhra State. With reference to famine, it is agreed on all hands that we are passing through a very difficult period and the people are really undergoing suffering. The only thing that we have to see to is in what way relief can be given to these people. In approaching this problem of famine, I would like to say this. When famine raged in Rayalaseema, we never approached the question from the point of view whether Rayalaseema was in the Andhra area or in the non-Andhra area. We were motivated by the only objective of saving the people of this State by giving relief to the suffering millions. But in spite of that, assertions and allegations have been made that we have discriminated from region to region. I can tell this Hon. House that as far as this matter is concerned, our conscience is quite clear. As Finance Minister, I am very well aware of the expenditure which was from time to time sanctioned for the purpose of meeting these famine conditions and in sanctioning such expenditure we were certainly in no way concerned with the question whether the area was in the south or in the north or in the middle. The only thing we were concerned with was where the area of distress lay, where the distress was more and where greater relief was needed.

“ The next thing which I would like to mention in this connexion is about the point made by the Leader of the Opposition that it has been stated in the Budget speech that ten crores have been spent on famine relief, but he could not locate this ten crores in the Budget figures. The Hon. the Minister for Revenue, while speaking on the debate on the Governor's Address gave figures. He did not give the figures for all the districts. But he wanted to show that out of the $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees spent up to 28th February 1953, 375 lakhs were spent on the three districts in Rayalaseema alone. During the current year scarcity conditions have prevailed in 15 out of 22 districts—to a smaller extent in some districts and to a greater extent in certain other districts. Where people were affected by drought conditions, we have given relief and, if necessary, I can even furnish figures. Next to Rayalaseema comes the adjoining district of North Arcot which was also equally affected. About a crore of rupees has been spent in this area. Next to this area is Coimbatore district wherein a large area—Darapuram, Udamalpet and Palladam—were affected and where we have spent nearly 80 lakhs of rupees. Of course, our expenditure on famine relief is not shown under a separate head as ‘Famine Relief’. It is brought under very many items—road works, minor irrigation works, etc. I have picked out the figures under all these items and they show that we have spent up to 28th February 1953 eight crores of rupees. Much of the expenditure which has already been incurred has not come into our accounts and we have to incur expenditure for another month also. Taking all these into account,

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I put the figure roundly at ten crores. It may be a little more or it may be a little less. We are not interested in giving false figures and in exaggerating famine conditions there. On the other hand the charges made by the Opposition is that we are trying to minimize the magnitude of the problem. I am only interested in giving figures to the House and even though they may not be correct to a lakh it may be $9\frac{1}{2}$ or $10\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees. There is nothing, therefore, wrong in my statement. We have spent nearly ten crores and in spite of this, there are complaints that we have not given adequate relief to the affected people. I fully sympathize with such hon. Members. Those people who complain that we have not gone far to give further relief to the distressed population are underestimating the magnitude of the problem of famine in this respect and overestimating the resources available to this Government for meeting these conditions. Even ten crores do not go to meet the full requirements of famine relief. Hon. Members seem to think that we have got resources enough to meet the problem of this size. It is not so. That is why the Hon. the Chief Minister told the House yesterday that this was an unprecedented famine. It is not as if we are going through normal times. We are passing through abnormal times—five or six successive years of drought. The reserve power of the poor has been completely drained and to that extent resources of the Government are also affected. Therefore, it is, he said that it is only the Central Government that have got greater resources at their disposal and it is they that must come to the aid of this State. It is in this context that he asked hon. Members for their wholehearted co-operation in making a demand on the Central Government. Of course, a good Communist that the Leader of the Opposition is, he at once caught hold of this gesture and said, 'Yes, we are prepared to co-operate but on our own terms. Release all political prisoners whether they be murderers, whether they have looted or committed dacoity; if only they have got the label "Communist" you release them because it is all political murder, political dacoity.' I am really unable to understand this argument. I do not know what the Leader of the Opposition means by this. If any hon. Member here asks for release of mere political prisoners, I can understand it. But the demand is that all cases pending for arson, for murder, violence and all that should be withdrawn and the persons concerned should be immediately released. Sir, if this is done, this will be another kind of patronage, that is purchasing the Opposition. To demand that we should not take notice of them because they belong to the party in opposition, whatever the atrocities they have committed, is something that cannot be acceded to. To oblige them will be another kind of sabotage of democracy. So crime committed by persons to whichever party they may belong, they may be Congressmen, Toilers Party men or Communist party men—is crime and the law will have to take its own course. There is no use of saying: 'These are political crimes. You should withdraw the case.'"

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(The hon. Member Sri A. Govindaswamy Naicker stood up in his seat.)

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MR. SPEAKER :—" The Hon. Minister is not yielding."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" Sir, I was just saying that for illustration. I did not say anybody from that party committed any crime. Still if any person belonging to that party should commit a crime, they cannot come and say to me : ' He is a member of our party. Therefore, release him.' I was only making that point clear. We cannot ask for concessions to be shown because he had a political motive. We do not know what motive he had and simply because it is said that he had a political motive, crime does not cease to be a crime."

" Sir, in the coming year I am hoping—I suppose I will not be denied the freedom even of entertaining a hope—that we will have normal conditions. That is my firm hope and we pray for normal conditions and monsoon so that the people who have been suffering for the last six years will get some sort of relief, because whatever be the magnitude and the extent of the relief provided by the Government it goes only to a certain extent to relieve distress. Real relief comes only when normal conditions are restored, when we have a normal monsoon. That being so, I am hoping and praying that there should be normal conditions. With that hope only, Government have provided for 17 lakhs of rupees for famine relief. When I say that there is a provision of 17 lakhs of rupees for famine relief, let not hon. Members imagine that this is the only provision available for famine relief. There are so many other sources from which adjustments could be made. So much so if there is a particular distress in a particular area, money could be diverted and later on, of course in the revised estimates, I will have to show to the hon. Members that because of the continuing famine the Government had to incur further expenditure. I hope that contingency will not arise. That is why I have provided only 17 lakhs of rupees for famine relief. Should an occasion arise and should an area be affected again by drought conditions, we will face it with determination, we will face it with the added advantage of the experience we had gained during the current year. I am sure in doing that I will have the co-operation of the entire House and the Government will provide relief to the people to whichever party they might belong."

" Sir, connected with this problem of famine is also the problem of unemployment created in the country and the low purchasing power prevailing among the people in the State. What is it due to? Of course, the Leader of the Opposition would say : ' You are not bold enough to adopt measures to overcome this distress and to deal with this deterioration in the economic condition of this State.' But let us try to analyse and find out the real cause and then try to apply the cure for it. The real cause, according to me, is our people depend mainly on agriculture. Seventy to eighty per cent of the people in our State are engaged in agriculture and that agriculture depends upon a fair monsoon. Therefore our major, even the entire production is only in the agricultural field. When there is failure of monsoon to that extent production goes down. When there has been failure of monsoon successively for six years, not in

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restricted areas but over extensive areas like entire districts, and that too not in one but 15 out of 22 districts, it is not surprising that the production has gone down on the agricultural side. If production goes down on the agricultural side, automatically, in a poverty-stricken country where people are living from day to day and month to month and there is wholesale failure of monsoons, the purchasing power of the people also goes down. Therefore, there is nothing surprising in it. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition seems to think: 'If only you divide the land, if only you increase tenant's share of the produce, production will go up.' He seems to think that if the tenant is given 75 per cent of the produce, the production would go up automatically. But, Sir, I would like to point out to him the pattern of the holdings in our State. Of course, he cited Tanjore. I know Tanjore is rather peculiarly situated. There are bigger landlords there. That is the reason why special legislation was necessary for that district. But if we take the pattern of the entire State, we see that we are largely a State of peasant proprietors. The theory of the Leader of the Opposition is that if a tenant is allowed to have 75 per cent of the production, the tenants would be enthused and production would increase. Well, Sir, here are the vast majority of the people who hold the land and who get the entire produce from the land. Why has not production increased in those cases? On the other hand the production is going down. There is not sufficient production even in the field which is owned by the peasant and tilled by him. Production has gone down throughout the entire country. If that be so, the cause is somewhere else and that is, as I said, the failure of the rains. Not only the failure of the rains, but our holdings are quite uneconomical and the peasants do not have sufficient capital to invest in agriculture. Therefore, we should improve the economic condition of the small peasants so that sufficient resources might be made available to them to undertake better cultivation of the land. Better seeds and manure also should be supplied to them so that production figures might go up. It is in that task the Government are engaged now, and the Hon. the Minister in charge of Agriculture explained how the Government are doing their best to see that peasants take to better methods of cultivation and the use of better seeds and manure and thus increase production. Only when production increases, the purchasing power of the people will increase. By a mere magic or by distribution of the existing wealth, neither production nor purchasing power could be increased.

" In this connexion I would also refer to the food situation, as this is intimately connected with the distress prevailing throughout the State because of drought conditions. Many points were made regarding this. It is said that prices are soaring high. My own view is, just now the harvest season is over and it should be possible for people to get paddy and other grains in the open market. The reports we have received show that the prices have not gone up as much as it was feared by other people. Prices are maintaining a reasonable level now because of the harvest season

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but they are likely to shoot up after two months as the lean months begin. Government are quite aware of it and they are trying their best to see that during these lean months supply through the fair price shops should be to the maximum extent possible. That is why we are trying to conserve as much as possible during the months of harvest and soon after the harvest and with the stocks available, I am sure, we will be able to face the situation during the lean months.

3-40 p.m. " In this connexion, I have to express our feelings of gratitude to the Hon. Food Minister of the Government of India who made an unequivocal statement on the floor of the Parliament that whatever be the requirements of the Madras State, they would be completely met. After making an assessment of our requirements, I made a demand from the Central Government for the supply of 2 lakh tons of rice during 1953. But after reassessing the production in our State and taking into account the failure of monsoons, I told the Hon. Food Minister of the Government of India that our requirements would be about $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakh tons of rice. Immediately he said he agreed to give $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakh tons of rice. Besides that, he advised us that if we depended upon rice alone, it would become more and more difficult to get rice from outside or procure rice from other States within our country and that, therefore, it should be possible for us to push in wheat as much as possible. I explained to him that it would not be possible to sell what of improve the consumption of wheat unless we showed considerable reduction in the price. Even though the Finance Minister had to agree to such reduction, he promised to supply us wheat at a concessional rate of Rs. 14 per maund to be supplied in the distress areas while the cost price was about Rs. 17-8-0 per maund. That being so, if we are to supply wheat in the distress areas at subsidized rates we would be able to get not only 50,000 tons, but it would also be possible even to get one lakh or two lakh tons from the Central quota. Here I have to make an appeal to the hon. Members of this House, which appeal I made even last year, that we should popularize wheat as this is the only way by which we can face the difficult food situation if again the monsoons are to fail and the food situation becomes difficult. We are now selling wheat at ten annas a Madras measure whereas for the first sort of rice we are charging fifteen annas. I would like to inform the hon. Members why we have fixed fifteen annas for the first sort of rice whereas we were selling it previously at thirteen annas six pies. This has also been explained by the Central Food Minister. Formerly we were getting a subsidy in respect of rice which was imported from outside the country at the rate of Rs. 30 per maund and supplied to us at about Rs. 20 or Rs. 21 per maund, the extra amount of Rs. 9 being subsidized by the Centre. That subsidy has been withdrawn now. Therefore, for whatever quantities of rice we get from out of the imports, we have to pay at about Rs. 30 per maund."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"It is likely to increase."

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* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ I do not think it is likely to increase. In any case it will not go beyond Rs. 31 per maund.

“ Therefore, Sir, whatever quantities are allotted to this State from out of the imported rice, we will have to pay for than at Rs. 30 per maund. At present we are getting allotments from various States at varying prices. I am glad to state that our neighbouring State of Orissa is supplying us rice at the cheapest rates possible and we are very much indebted to them. So it is to our interest to see that Orissa rice is allotted to us in preference, to that of other States. But there is a race for that rice and, therefore, we are getting some quantities from Orissa and some from Madhya Pradesh. Taking all these into consideration, we had to fix up a price. Formerly we were adopting the policy of fixing prices separately for each allotment. So much so there were variations in the prices from time to time. One week it was selling at Re. 1-2-0 a Madras measure and the next week it would go down to Re. 0-14-0. I also received complaints that rice was being sold sometimes at Re. 1-4-0. It was because rates were fixed separately for each allotment. In respect of Madras City I found that we had been selling rice at subsidized rates. I thought it was not good. That is why we have now pooled all our resources, the supplies we are getting both from imports from outside the country and from the other States within the country, and have fixed the rates on a ‘ No profit no loss ’ basis. That is why the first sort rice is asked to be sold at fifteen annas and the second sort at twelve annas six pies. As far as possible we have tried to avoid sudden increase in the price, the increase at present being only one anna and a half from thirteen annas six pies to fifteen annas.

“ Sir, I would like to deal with the complaints made in respect of Malabar that the prices of rice are soaring high there. I do not know how Malabar people can complain. Because as far as Malabar is concerned, we are maintaining the supply as during pre-decontrol days. We continue to supply foodgrains on the same scale as we were supplying before decontrol and for this purpose 2 lakh tons of rice out of the entire quantity of 2.5 lakh tons of rice we are getting from the Centre is being used for supply in Malabar area alone. In addition, we are also making arrangements to see that wheat is supplied at ten annas a Madras measure in fair price shops in unlimited quantities in all areas where distress is prevailing. Besides, we have allowed the entire production inside the district untouched without any procurement whatsoever so that it may be available in the free market. If there is any fluctuation in the prices, it is with reference to the prices obtaining in the open market. The internal production which has been allowed untouched without being procured is responsible for the fluctuation. Under these circumstances, I am really surprised that Malabar Friends should join others and raise a hue and cry. Of course, if they say that the purchasing power of the people is low, that is quite a different thing. As far as the supply position is concerned either in the open market or through the fair price shops,

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there cannot be any possible room for complaint. If any individual cases, either of supply of bad quality of rice or wheat or delays in the movement of supplies, are brought to my notice, I will certainly look into them.

“ Sir, with regard to the Andhra State I thought it would not be necessary for me to say anything after the assurances given by the Hon. the Chief Minister yesterday. But I may tell the hon. Members that long before Sri Potti Sriramulu died, it was decided that the Andhra State should be formed. Of course, they did not fix any time-limit for it. Therefore, to say that the decision for the formation of the Andhra State was taken because Sri Potti Sreeramulu died, is not wholly correct. No doubt, the Prime Minister hastened to make the statement because of the conditions created after Sri Potti Sreeramulu's death. But to say that the Hon. the Chief Minister was against the formation of the Andhra State, anyhow at this juncture, is completely wrong.

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p.m.

“ Sir, the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition had referred to one other point which makes it necessary for me to reply. He had said that the Hon. the Chief Minister ought to have come forward with a statement about Tirupati even two months before. Sir, let me tell frankly I do not see any reason for doing so. Was it at any time a live-issue? Did the Congress pass any resolution that Tirupati should belong to the Tamil State? Was it taken seriously at any time that Tirupati would be claimed by Congress leaders or by other Congress organizations to be included in the residuary State? Tirupati was not at all a live-issue. It was necessary for the Hon. the Chief Minister to refer to Tirupati because one of the Hon. Ministers, Sri K. Venkataswami Naidu, was mentioned in the debate by some hon. Members in connexion with Tirupati. If he did not make mention of Tirupati earlier it was not his fault. On the other hand what was the obstacle that stood in the way of the Andhra State? It was the Madras City issue. That has been made pretty clear by the Hon. the Chief Minister. The Andhras are persisting with their claim over the Madras City even now after the unequivocal declaration by the Prime Minister. I am sorry to note that the Hon. Leader of the Opposition wants to make some political capital out of what the Hon. the Chief Minister had now observed regarding Tirupati. The hon. Leader of the Opposition has told us that the Hon. the Chief Minister is now changing places, that from Madras he has now come to Tirupati and that he is now changing his version. He had said that the Hon. the Chief Minister ought to have made this statement of his regarding Tirupati even two months ago on the floor of the Assembly. I never expected this from the hon. Leader of the Opposition. I really expected a better deal than this from him.

“ With great respect to the hon. Leader of the Opposition, let me observe that the Hon. the Chief Minister has been making a consistent stand with regard to the Andhra issue. According to him the only obstacle was Madras City. I am sure that after the unequivocal declaration of the Prime Minister and our Chief Minister that issue also would be settled very soon and that there

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would be no further room left for suspicion to be entertained on the other side. Let us hope, as Sri G. Latchanna had observed, that when we part we shall part as friends.

"Then again, Sir, coming to the question of the supply of figures, the same allegations have been made again. Even after the assurance given by the Hon. the Chief Minister that there was no political move behind the inclusion of the Bellary district wholly in the residuary area, hon. Members on the other side did not believe us. Nor was it our intention to enhance the deficit on the Andhra side by depriving them of Bellary district. In fact, if hon. Members were to look at things in their proper perspective they will clearly observe that we stand to gain nothing (in fact we stand to lose) by including Bellary in the residuary area. Bellary itself is a deficit district. Had it been our intention to enhance the deficit of Andhra still further, nothing would have prevented us from including Bellary also in that area. That would have increased the present deficit on the Andhra side by another Rs. 20 lakhs more. If it were our intention and if we were interested in manipulating figures and accounts in order to show a greater deficit for the Andhra State, here was a clear course open to us. After all what have we done? We have not taken into account the total resources available in the Andhra districts. We have not calculated their total expenditure and we have not given any separate Budget statement regarding the Andhra area. We took the figures, the actual figures available for us from the Accountant-General's office. Hon. Members should know that the Accountant-General's office is an entirely different and independent office and is under the control of the Centre. Therefore, it is quite obvious that the allegation levelled against us by some of the hon. Members on the other side is quite absurd.

"Again, Sir, objection was taken to the inclusion of the capital expenditure over Tungabhadra Project in the Andhra side. Hon. Members should know that this is entirely a capital expenditure. Whether it is in charge of the Andhra or the Tamil State, the revenue picture of the two States is not affected in any way when it is shown as purely a capital expenditure. Therefore, it does not matter much. But some people confuse matters. They say: 'You have included the expenditure of Tungabhadra Project in the Andhra side. That is why we have a big deficit.' Let me say to them that that has nothing to do with the revenue deficit on the Andhra side. Capital Budget and Revenue Budget are two entirely different things. Of course there is some meaning if hon. Members take the view that inasmuch as Bellary has been included in the residuary area why should not the capital expenditure incurred on the Tungabhadra Project also be included in the residuary area. But hon. Members should know that the Tungabhadra Project is not serving the small Kannada area alone or Bellary alone but the entire surrounding Telugu area."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—"It is only half and half."

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* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ The fact that the Tungabhadra Project serves the surrounding Telugu area as well as the Kannada area also has been fully considered in the Partition Committee proceedings. It was considered during Mr. Wanchoo's enquiry also. If a certain expenditure is shown against a particular head, we cannot by one stroke of the pen straightaway debit that expenditure either to the residuary area or to the Telugu area. Proper assessments have got to be carried out. Let me assure hon. Members that what is just would be done to all parties concerned. Nobody need worry about the same. In this connexion I want to remove the misapprehension in the minds of some hon. Members. It is not our intention to start a project only in a particular specified area. Our intention is to start that project which would be more economical. We do not allow political considerations to prevail. We take into account the backwardness of the area first. That is why we started the Tungabhadra Project so that it may afford relief to the famine-stricken Rayalaseema area. If we take all these factors into account we can see clearly that there is no justification in saying that we had started projects only to cater to the needs of the South and that we had neglected the Andhra side altogether.

“ Let me now come to the Budget proper. In that connexion I want first of all to refer to a matter which I dealt with already in the Budget speech, viz., the thermal backing for the hydro-electric power system. In a speech he had made the other day The Hon. Leader of the Opposition referred to this. It is not as if the Government are unaware of it but there are two limiting factors. The two limiting factors are the availability of capital and the necessary equipment. That could be managed somehow. Even if we are getting the necessary capital equipment, we require fuel for working these thermal stations. The fuel is coal. Unfortunately the availability of coal is limited by the transport factor. We have to move coal from Bihar collieries or to some extent from Hyderabad, by rail. Hon. Members are aware that the biggest bottleneck is between Vijayavada and Madras. Unless we lay double lines between Madras and Vijayavada it will not be possible to move more coal by rail from Hyderabad or from Bihar to Madras. Thus we see the movement of coal by railway is limited. The only other course left open for us was to move the coal by sea. Unfortunately when we worked out the cost, we found that movement of coal by sea was costlier than that by rail. I was also first under the impression that movement of coal by sea would be much cheaper. But when the actual cost was worked out we found that whereas it used to cost us Rs. 30 per ton for movement by rail it would cost us from Rs. 60 to Rs. 70 a ton if the same was moved by sea. So hon. Members may see for themselves that the cost of coal is considerably increased by moving coal from Bihar by sea to Madras. Moreover the fact should also be borne in mind that these thermal stations work only during non-irrigation season and during drought season. The capital during the other months is only dead capital. When the cost of fuel increases, the cost of current also increases correspondingly. Whereas it would

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cost us only 9 pies per unit previously for our electric supply for industrial and agricultural consumption from the hydro-electric projects, it would cost 3 annas per unit for thermal power, and if we are to bring our fuel (coal) from Bihar by sea, at a cost of Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 per ton, the rate will be near about 7 annas per unit. It will not be economical and so that is the limiting factor. That is why I expressed the hope that we would be able to get coal from South Arcot district. The Leader of the Opposition seems to be sceptical about it, but I am hopeful about it. We have now a pilot scheme for the purpose of exploiting it, and I am sure, as was expressed by the Chief Minister, the lucky hand of our Minister for Industries would be seen there, and that scheme would be successful. Even if it should prove not successful, we are not going to leave it there; we are going to adopt some other scheme to exploit this large lignite deposit available in the South Arcot district; and if it proves a success, I have absolutely no doubt that it will change the entire industrial map of South India. Let us all hope, therefore, that it will prove an immediate success, so that this unlimited resource of coal will be available for industrial and other developments.

“ Then, Sir, with reference to my showing a small surplus on the revenue side, the Leader of the Opposition said that I had learnt the trick of the trade and he criticised me ‘ After all you have balanced the Budget by decreasing the expenditure.’ I do not see any other method of balancing the Budget. Only by adjusting our expenditure to our income can we do it, and that is the only way to do it, unless you get money by some other method as somebody remarked by ‘ கள்ளத்தனமாய் நோட்டிக்கிறது.’ Therefore, that is the only way of making the adjustment. But unfortunately, the other difficulty of meeting our capital expenditure is still there and that is the main headache for us and that is where we require the assistance of the Centre. As far as revenue expenditure is concerned, we cannot go on incurring deficits year after year. For the last three years continuously we were having deficits, and it is high time that we balanced our Budget. That is why I made an effort to see that at least the Revenue Budget was balanced. That was possible mainly because of the Rs. 3½ crores we are getting because of the recommendation of the Finance Commission. As a result of that recommendation, as hon. Members are aware, we are getting nearly Rs. 3½ crores extra; but unfortunately what is given by the right hand is taken away by the other hand, and that causes a further headache. The Finance Commission has examined the question of the growing revenue expenditure on account of the developmental expenditure of the States, and, therefore, some more revenue resources have been made available to the States. Unfortunately, the Central Finance Minister seems to think ‘ Here is money which was available to the Centre; now it has been allocated by the Finance Commission to the States. To that extent I will cut out the assistance which we have to give under the Plan.’ If that policy is adopted, we won’t gain to any extent by the recommenda-

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tion of the Finance Commission. In fact, as the Leader of the Opposition points out, there was no necessity for any Commission, and we need not have undergone all this trouble of an enquiry and getting an award like this. It should be possible for the Central Government to exclude this from the assistance they have got to give under the Plan. Then only it will be a beneficial award so far as the States are concerned, and we will get Rs. 3½ crores for developmental expenditure on the revenue side and not on the capital side.

“Then I come to certain taxation measures which I have proposed in my Budget speech. The first is with reference to the Court fees. Even some disinterested persons who are not Members of the House say: ‘No, no; this Court-fee should not have been enhanced.’ I am sorry to say that a wrong view has been taken of the proposal regarding this. If only hon. Members have followed the course suggested in the small booklet which has been supplied to them, of reading through the entire Budget Memorandum, I am sure, this charge that we are attempting to enhance the Court fees would not have been made. At page 39 of the Budget Memorandum, it is clearly stated in paragraph 30:

‘Court-fees realized in stamps: Court-fess including process-fees and fees for attestation of power-of-attorney by Magistrates and record room receipts realized in stamps impressed with the amount are credited to this minor head. The Court Fees Act which was enacted years ago bristles with anomalies and has resulted in a mass of conflicting decisions by the various High Courts. It is also unsuited to modern conditions. The Government have, therefore, decided to introduce a fresh law on the subject in order to set right decided to introduce a fresh law on the subject in order to set right defects to introduce a fresh law on the subject in order to set right defects in the existing Act and to see that the incidence of Court-fee taxation is equitable and bears some relation to the magnitude of claims, the intrinsic value of the subject-matter of the suit and also the time taken by Courts and public officers.’

Members who are lawyers would realize the anomalies which exist in the present Court Fees Act. For example, if a certain survey number—whole number—forms the subject-matter of a suit, it is enough if fifteen times the assessment is taken as the value for the purpose of Court-fees; but if it is a part of that survey number, the market value has got to be given, which is much more than fifteen times the assessment for that area. There are many other anomalies like this. In a suit for accounts, even though a person may make a statement to the effect that he was entitled to get a lakh of rupees, for the purpose of Court-fee it would be open to him to fix his own valuation, say a notional value of Rs. 100 and say that the fees will be paid later on on the full amount. Such suits are contentious and take a lot of time of the Courts. So we wanted to remove these anomalies, and by readjusting the law, we will get about Rs. 50 lakhs more. It is not a case where we want to make litigation more costly and make the poorer sections of the public pay for this.

“Then with regard to the tobacco tax, much has been said that we are taxing the luxury of the poor man, that it should not be taxed. I was surprised to see a speech made by the President of

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the South Indian Chamber of Commerce to the effect that a Government which has been adopting the policy of prohibition has no right to levy a tax on tobacco. He seems to think that the excise revenue we would be getting by selling toddy and arrack comes from somebody else and is not coming from the people but that taxing tobacco is taxing the poor man's luxury. I was really unable to appreciate the stand taken by that eminent person. But that apart, it is not as if we are going to enforce the Act as it stood formerly, of taxing beedies, raw tobacco and all these things. We do not want to do it. As a matter of fact, a costly staff is required for purposes of scrutinizing and controlling small and petty shops where sales are to an extent of Rs. 200, Rs. 300 or Rs. 400. Our intention is—and that is being examined now—to have the tax on manufactured tobacco like cigarettes and cigars which are largely purchased by the lower middle class, upper middle class and the rich and to have it, if possible, at one point. Therefore, hon. Members need be under no misapprehension that we are going to tax the poor and affect the beedi industry workers or the beedi manufacturers. Whatever it is, that is not our intention. In fact, we have taken note of this long before the point was made on the floor of this Assembly and we are examining the other alternative of taxing cigarettes. The question is under examination and as soon as it is over—and I hope it will be over very soon—we will be able to place the measure before this House even during this session, so that we may be able to get this income by taxing cigars and cigarettes alone and the other superior manufactured tobacco, for example, tinned tobacco used for the purpose of cigarettes. So, in that respect, I am sure hon. Members would feel relieved. (Interruption from an hon. Member in the Opposition benches: 'Public also.') Yes, the public also will feel relieved. After all we are the representatives of the public here and if we feel relieved the public also will feel relieved. So, Sir, both the hon. Members and the public will be considerably relieved that the tax is not going to fall on the poor section.

4-10
p.m

“Then, Sir, there are only one or two other points that I have got to deal with. Very many points have been made by several individual Members with reference to the constituencies and the areas from which they come. It is not possible to take up each individual case and deal with it here but I can assure hon. Members that we have instructed the various departments to take extracts of the speeches made by the hon. Members and to place them for final orders before us. And if any points are made with reference to any grievances or with reference to any other matter which has been raised on the floor of this House, I am sure, whatever is possible will be done.

“Finally, Sir, I wish only to say one thing. My Budget has been characterized as a colourless Budget. I take it as a compliment because I intended it to be a colourless Budget during the interim period. In fact, if there is any colour in it, I would feel aggrieved, but I am glad that it has been accepted by a large

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section in this House as colourless and that is what I intended it to be. That is because, we are in a transition period and it is no good we should embark on any expenditure which anybody may object to. Especially pending partition, it would be wrong on our part to commit the coming Governments to any large expenditure. They will have to assess their resources and also make their own policies and then frame their Budget. That is why, I have contended myself mainly with Part I of the Budget which is only a continuation of the existing schemes. With regard to Part II Schemes as hon. Members would have noticed we have taken only schemes to an extent of 65 lakhs which have been necessitated by the existing schemes.

“ In this connexion, I would also like to mention that this period of transition is proving to be a very difficult one for the administration. Hon. Members, especially from the Andhra side are under the impression that as a matter of fact, Tamil friends are interested in delaying the formation of the province. Let them be disillusioned about it. As far as I am concerned, I pressed before Mr. Justice Wanchoo that the partition should be made even on the 1st of April, not because of any other difficulty but because of the administrative difficulties. In fact, during this interim period we find it very difficult to take decisions on certain matters, because even a colourless thing gets some colour added to it because of the background of partition. And what I would have ordinarily rejected saying that the scheme is not necessary, I hesitate to do so now, because motives are likely to be attributed if it is a case relating to the Andhra area. Therefore, the question of taking decisions on such matters is becoming more and more difficult. Therefore we have to postpone taking decisions. And if we have to postpone taking decisions, to that extent administration gets deteriorated and it becomes loose to that extent. Therefore, it is necessary in the interests of both the States, the new Andhra State as well as the residuary State that this partition should come into existence as early as possible, because if the transition period happens to be a long one, I have absolutely no doubt in my mind that administration will get deteriorated and whatever recovery we have been able to make during the one year it will be difficult to regain it and the new States would find it very difficult to push through their schemes efficiently and expeditiously after their formation. That is why I wish to assure hon. Members from the Andhra side that we are not standing in the way of the formation of the State and that we are not interested in delaying the formation of the State, but that we are interested in seeing that the formation of the State takes place as early as possible.

“ Sir, this perhaps is the last Budget session of the composite House. This House will be meeting separately for each area for the consideration of the final Budget later on and I will be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratitude to all the hon. Members here for the kindness they have shown me.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ There will also be another sitting.”

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State."

ments.

they will all prosper and be good and friendly neighbours."

again at 8-30 a.m. on Monday, 23rd March 1953."

The House then adjourned.

[illegible]